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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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Number 3

SAMUEL CHASE AND THE ANNAPOLIS PAPER WAR

By NEIL STRAWSER

THE so-called "Paper War" between brash young Samuel Chase and the city government of Annapolis is now scarcely a footnote to the history of pre-Revolutionary Maryland.¹ Fully understood, however, this intemperate, seemingly local warfare by newspaper and handbill² becomes the surviving vestige of

¹ Mentioned in early treatments such as John Sanderson, ed., *Biography of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence*, 9 vols., (Philadelphia, 1824), and John V. L. McMahon, *An Historical View of the Government of Maryland from its Colonization to the Present Day* (Baltimore, 1831), but dropped by later scholars further removed from the background.

² The "Paper War" consisted of the following: two publications in *The (Annapolis) Maryland Gazette* (hereafter referred to as *Md. Gaz.*), Mar. 13, May 1, 1766, signed by grand jurors but apparently written or inspired by Chase; answers signed by Mayor Walter Dulany and Aldermen Steuart, Brice II, Scott and MacNemara, *ibid.*, Mar. 20, June 9, 1766; two related letters defending the handling of funds from the city lottery, by John Brice II and Daniel Wolstenholme, *ibid.*, May 8, 22, 1766; three brief letters by Samuel Chase, *ibid.*, Mar.

a much broader struggle, and Chase's role in it becomes worthy of mention, at least, on the same page with the great Daniel Dulany.

Dulany has won the plaudits of historians for his *Considerations* attacking the Stamp Act. He put the persuasion of a respectful pen to work in the attack against a rather remote level of authority—with justly celebrated results.³ Chase, working at shorter range, led the citizens of Annapolis in a three-dimensional attack against *all* authority. To a disrespectful pen he added the power of the mob in a pointblank assault on the authority of the Parliament, the proprietary government of Maryland and the corrupt city government of Annapolis. Since the same men exercised the authority on all three levels, to challenge these men on one level could not help but impugn their personal authority on all. What started out as a movement for civic reform was of significance far beyond the confines of the Annapolis peninsula. For Maryland, Chase's challenge may have been nearly as important as Dulany's in laying the groundwork for revolution. Dulany provided an intellectual rationale; Chase ushered in the outdoor politics⁴ of popular contempt which tore down the respect without which no sovereignty can govern.

Reconstruction of all elements of this almost forgotten struggle has been most difficult. Little exists in the way of personal papers to explain motives, and the now musty events pedantically recorded in old Annapolis Corporation records are not always easily explained. But with a minimum of assumption the outlines can be drawn and some details supplied for the story of a daring and successful assault which all but cast off the bonds of a provincial capital a decade before the final declaration in Philadelphia.⁵

28, June 26, July 17, 1766, and a Chase handbill "To Messrs Walter Dulany, *et al.*," July 18, 1766 (printer unknown), bound in the 1766-1767 volume of *Md. Gaz.*, Maryland State Library, Annapolis, with apparently contemporary notation, "This not printed by J. Green," editor of the newspaper.

³ See the late assessments in Edmund S. and Helen M. Morgan, *The Stamp Act Crisis; Prologue to Revolution* (Chapel Hill, 1953), and Aubrey C. Land, *The Dulanys of Maryland . . .* (Baltimore, 1955).

⁴ The author is indebted to Charles Albro Barker, *The Background of the Revolution in Maryland* (New Haven, 1940), for the phrases "politics of protest" and "out of door politics" and for the understanding gained of these concepts as applied to Maryland history.

⁵ Annapolis Corporation manuscript records helpful in piecing together the

Chase's role as the Annapolis rebel seems to have begun almost as a prank, and may, like many events in his life, been less than considered. Big, fun-loving, uncouth, unthinking, but strangely sensitive to criticism and quick to anger, Chase lived always by impulse and emotion. His clergyman father was a political conservative, but the son seemed always to gravitate toward the turbulent side of affairs.⁶

Sam Chase was 18 when he arrived in Annapolis in 1759 to study law. By the following year he was being sued by an innkeeper⁷ (possibly for room rent), and had been blackballed, for reasons unexplained, by a drinking and debating society known as the Forensic Club.⁸ Annapolis society did not readily open its arms to the "Sammy" who used to be sent running to his uncle's store with a couple of pounds in cash to apply to his father's 600 pound debt. It possibly noted that Chase once had to enlist his law teacher to swear out a warrant of *habeas corpus* to save the Reverend Thomas Chase from debtor's prison.⁹ Chase's position probably wasn't helped by his 1762 marriage to the beautiful but penniless Anne Baldwin, whose mother had taken up tavern-keeping and whose bankrupt father had died a few months earlier after being sent off to debtor's prison.¹⁰ Still, the fledgling lawyer pushed ahead in a drive for landed respectability, plunging over-heavily in the purchase of backlands and eking out his first meager law

story included: "Annapolis Corporation Minutes," No. 2, 1757-1765, No. 3, 1765-1772; "Annapolis By-Laws and Ordnances," 1768-1791; Annapolis "Ledger H No. 1," 1761-1788, all in the Maryland Hall of Records.

⁶ Still one of the best sketches on Chase is the first, in Sanderson, *op. cit.*, IX, 188-235. Edward S. Corwin, "Samuel Chase," *DAB*, IV, 34-37, adds some material from other sources. Other insights on Chase's character are found in Charles Francis Adams, ed., *The Works of John Adams*, 10 vols., (Boston, 1850-56), II, 398, 425; Charles Carroll of Carrollton to Charles Carroll (Sr.), Nov. 25, 1777, Carroll MSS, V, 68; Md. His. Soc.; Alexander Contee Harrison to [?], extract, Chase MSS, *ibid.*; "Excerpts from the Papers of Dr. Benjamin Rush," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (1905) XXXIX, 28, and William Sullivan, *The Public Men of the Revolution . . .* (Philadelphia, 1847), p. 224n.

⁷ "Anne Arundel County Court Judgments," MS, IMB No. 1, p. 40, Maryland Hall of Records.

⁸ "Forensic Club Minutes," typescript copy, pp. 7-9, *ibid.*

⁹ "Provincial Court Judgments," MS, DD8, p. 40, *ibid.*

¹⁰ From Charles Willson Peale portrait of Anne Baldwin Chase in Md. Hist. Soc.; "Anne Arundel County Deeds," MS, BB No. 1 pp. 104, 105, 121, 122, 231, Md. Hall of Records; "Anne Arundel County Court Judgments," *op. cit.*, pp. 165, 199, 200, 216; "Testamentary Papers," MS, Box 65, Folder 10, Md. Hall of Records.

fees by making a business of defending the usually undefended debtors.¹¹

Sam Chase remained extremely sensitive to snubs regarding his position in life (and notably was outraged when the city leaders picked on his finances during the Paper War).¹² There were many dents in his ego during those early years. The young bloods of Annapolis, having finally admitted Chase to their Forensic Club, expelled him "for ever" in a few months for "having behaved himself extremely irregular and indecent and having at sundry Times uttered false and scandalous aspersions relative to the Club & maliciously and un-mannerly reflected upon the Members . . ." ¹³ On the professional side, the Mayor and Aldermen unsuccessfully offered the post of Mayor's Court Prosecutor to the other two students at the bar before giving it to Chase. On the business side, Alderman John Brice once thought himself important enough to push ahead of the newcomer at the provincial land office.¹⁴ Chase, who was later called a great "cart horse" ¹⁵ seems to have resisted and won the tussling match. Neither man forgot it.

Whatever the triggering incident, young Chase soon appears in a madcap episode that seems to have opened the skirmish with the city government. Internal evidence would seem to date the episode in the early 1760's; both accounts are inexact and at least partially apocryphal. The accounts ¹⁶ would have us believe that a group of high-spirited young law students stood in the State House one day perusing a portrait of Queen Anne, and that they were actually able to read the Annapolis Charter she held in her hand. The Charter had been granted in 1708, during her reign. The students were

¹¹ A study of Chase's land operations, his law practice, and an estimate of his income will be found in the author's unpublished M.A. thesis, "The Early Life of Samuel Chase" (The George Washington University, 1958).

¹² *Md. Gaz.*, June 19, 1766; Chase handbill, *op. cit.*, July 18, 1766.

¹³ "Forensic Club Minutes," *loc. cit.*, pp. 17, 38, 39.

¹⁴ Chase handbill, *op. cit.*

¹⁵ Henri Joseph Stier to —, Nov. 23, 1797, William D. Hoyt, Jr., ed. and trans., "The Calvert-Stier Correspondence; Letters from America to the Low Countries, 1797-1828," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXXVIII, 126, 127.

¹⁶ Rebecca Campbell Key, "A Notice of Some of the First Buildings with Notes of Some of the Early Residents," edited by Annie Leakin Sioussat, *ibid.*, XIV, 263, 264; Elihu S. Riley, *A History of Anne Arundel County, in Maryland* (Annapolis, 1905). p. 74.

Chase, Thomas Jennings, who had also been blackballed by the Forensic Club¹⁷ and possibly one of the Brices (perhaps John Jr., who did not follow his father's conservative path).¹⁸ They discovered the charter "violated in almost every particular," cleaned off the painting and buried a copy of the charter in a coffin at its foot. The word was passed, a crowd gathered, and amid much mirth, the supposedly lost charter rights were exhumed and rediscovered.

The claims of ignorance of the charter provisions would seem far-fetched but for similar circumstances involving the city by-laws. The original charter was passed on from Mayor to Mayor and presumably guarded at least as closely as the by-laws. The by-laws existed in such secrecy they weren't even collected together for some years, and in 1763 the corporation had to order a special copy made for the gate-keeper who couldn't do his duty because of his ignorance of the laws.¹⁹

The claims that the charter provisions had been broken in almost every particular do not stand up when the provisions²⁰ are compared to the recorded proceedings of the corporation. The provisions seem to have been more bent than broken. There were times when the Mayor, Recorder and Aldermen, sitting as election judges, construed most narrowly the charter provisions for the election of the Common Council.¹² It was from the directly elected council that aldermen filled up their own number, and from their ranks came the mayor. At times the Aldermen voted with the Common Council on by-laws,²² though barred by the charter. And the city fathers dragged their feet on a one-month provision for filling vacancies.²³

Still, it was often the custom not the constitution that was violated, and in any case the main complaints revolved around sim-

¹⁷ "Forensic Club Minutes," *loc. cit.*, p. 5.

¹⁸ The younger Brice, for instance, later became a member of the Annapolis committee for the association against imports from Great Britain, *Md. Gaz.*, Aug. 9, 1770.

¹⁹ "Annapolis Corporation Minutes," *loc. cit.*, No. 2, pp. 137, 230; *Md. Gaz.*, June 19, 1766.

²⁰ Charter is reprinted in Elihu S. Riley, "The Ancient City," a History of Annapolis in Maryland, 1649-1887 (Annapolis, 1887), pp. 85-94.

²¹ "Annapolis Corporation Minutes," *loc. cit.*, No. 2, pp. 140, 251-253.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 228.

²³ *Md. Gaz.*, Mar. 13, 1766.

ple inaction, not overt violation. The town fence was falling down; the harbor was filling up; the streets were badly rutted; an Alderman's house blocked a street. Remonstrances from grand juries of 1759, 1760 and 1761 complained bitterly of the disrepair, and also of over-regulation and failure to publicize the by-laws. The corporation failed to call a grand jury in 1762 and 1764, and the court hastened to adjourn in 1763 before the jury could present another remonstrance.²⁴ These were the complaints to which Chase and his prankish colleagues apparently sought to give the coloration of a fight for ancient charter rights. To an extent they seem to have succeeded in dramatizing what was essentially a civic protest against a regime which had grown lazy and careless, if not downright abusive, in carrying out the responsibilities of representative government laid down in the 1708 charter.

Annapolis had long been run almost as a rotten borough for the Proprietary.²⁵ The top officials in the Maryland government of the Lords Baltimore²⁶ were also the top officials of Annapolis. The Annapolis recorder at the height of the quarrel was Daniel Dulany, Deputy Secretary of the province. Daniel's brother, Walter Dulany, was mayor and also Naval Officer of Patuxent. Among the Aldermen were: Dr. George Steuart, a judge of the Land Office and Proprietary party wheel horse²⁷ in the lower house until 1764; Upton Scott, clerk of the Governor's Council and of the upper house, Examiner-General and Comptroller of North Potomac; John Ross, relative of the Lords Proprietors, former Clerk of Council and Naval Officer; Michael MacNemara, clerk of lower house; John Brice II, Chief Justice of the Provincial Court, Clerk of Anne Arundel County, and Benjamin Tasker, Sr.;

²⁴ *Ibid.*, Mar. 13, May 1, June 19, 1766; "Annapolis Corporation Minutes," No. 2, pp. 195, 224, 230. The earlier remonstrances were disclosed, not in the corporation minutes, but in the exchange of letters in *Md. Gaz.*

²⁵ Riley, *The Ancient City*, pp. 119, 120; Land, *op. cit.*, pp. 187, 188; Peale's unpublished autobiography, quoted in Horace Wells Sellers, "Charles Willson Peale, Artist-Soldier," *Pa. Mag.*, XXXVIII, 261.

²⁶ The proprietary offices held by the men cited in this paragraph were obtained from the excellent compendium by Donald M. Owings, *His Lordship's Patronage, Offices of Profit in Colonial Maryland* (Baltimore, 1953).

²⁷ *Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly of Maryland, Archives of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1883-), LIX, lxi.

Surveyor and Searcher of Annapolis, President of the Governor's Council and father-in-law of Daniel Dulany.²⁸

The provincial offices of profit were extremely lucrative. They were the cement which held together a considerable so-called Court party in the General Assembly. For years, a Country party of hardly less well-to-do landed squires had been challenging the Court party in the lower house. It was a struggle given to resounding invocations of ancient rights and freedoms over what appeared at times to be questions of prerogative rather than political democracy.²⁹ The Annapolis struggle for local reform inevitably carried over into the Court party-Country party struggles, with the difference being that the challengers in Annapolis were not landed squires for the most part, but small tradesmen and shop-keepers.³⁰

The reformers marked up their first discernible progress in October 1764 when two of the small tradesmen, ship carpenter³¹ Samuel Middleton and cordwainer³² Allen Quynn, won election to the Comon Council.³³ In November, Chase himself stepped out to take on Dr. George Steuart in a fight for one of the Annapolis seats in the General Assembly. Chase seems to have capitalized on a temporary split in Court party ranks. He had the backing not only of Charles Carroll, Barrister, an Annapolis Country party leader,³⁴ but of Walter Dulany, who was running also for the assembly. Dulany joined Chase in a bitter campaign against proprietary office holders serving in the Lower House. "The Motto of our flag, and the general Voice was NO PLACEMAN . . ." said Chase.³⁵

Provincial and local issues were intertwined. During the

²⁸ Land, *op. cit.*, 52, 192.

²⁹ Barker, *op. cit.*, pp. 181, 182, 374-376; Newton D. Mereness, *Maryland as a Proprietary Province* (New York, 1901), pp. 213-215, 356-383.

³⁰ Occupations of Chase associates in struggle identified from references in *Md. Gaz.* and other records. Chase's identification with tradesmen at this time is confirmed by Peale, Sellers, "Charles Willson Peale, Artist-Soldier," p. 262; his life-long identification with the "middling class of men" is alleged by "Mechanic" in *The (Baltimore) Maryland Gazette or, The Baltimore Advertiser*, Sept. 21, 1787.

³¹ "Annapolis Corporation Minutes," *loc cit.*, No. 3, p. 74.

³² *Ibid.*, No. 2, p. 291.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 241.

³⁴ Sellers, "Charles Willson Peale, Artist-Soldier," pp. 261, 262; W. Stull Holt, "Charles Carroll, Barrister: the Man," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXXI, 112-116.

³⁵ Chase handbill, *op. cit.*, July 18, 1766.

short campaign,³⁶ friends of Chase paraded through the streets bearing banners proclaiming the issue as the freedom of tradesmen. Charles Willson Peale, who supported Chase, wrote that "At this hard-contested election every engine was employed that each party could apply. The court dependents of office were threatened to be put out if they voted for Chase."³⁷ In Peale's memory, the proprietary had always been in the ascendancy until the November 26 balloting. The voting went on until evening, and at the end, the Proprietor's wheel horse in the lower house was retired. Dulany collected 132 votes, Chase 88 and Steuart 59.³⁸

The "middling class of men,"³⁹ the small merchants, had discovered their power at the polls. They put up Isaac Harris and John Campbell, a grocer and a tailor,⁴⁰ for Common Council vacancies in February of 1765, and went so far as to challenge the Mayor's Court interpretation of the property qualifications set by the charter. The incident seems to have been a followup to the State-House portrait affair (it was the daughter of the tailor involved, who remembered the tale)⁴¹ and apparently was aimed at calling the members of the court to public account under terms of the charter. The challenge—that no definite size of freehold was set—seems moot since the grocer and tailor won election under the whole-lot qualifications stated by the court. But it does seem to have put the court on record for the first time as to just what the qualifi-

³⁶ The writs were issued Nov. 13 and the election held Nov. 26, 1766. *Archives of Maryland*, LIX, xvii; *Md. Gaz.*, Nov. 29, 1764.

³⁷ Unpublished autobiography, Seller, *op. cit.*, pp. 261, 262.

³⁸ *Md. Gaz.*, Nov. 29, 1764. Court party figures retaliated against Peale's support of Chase by calling in several loans. Chase secured a writ of *Habeas Corpus* to free Peale from jail, but the whole incident is said to have persuaded Peale to turn from his pursuit of jack-of-all-trades to painting for a career. "Provincial Court Judgments," DD 11, pp. 326-335; Sellers, *op. cit.*, p. 262.

³⁹ *The (Baltimore) Maryland Gazette or, the Baltimore Advertiser*, Sept. 21, 1787.

⁴⁰ Harris appears to be a grocer by "Ledger H, No. 1," *op. cit.*, p. 8; Campbell is identified as a tailor in "Annapolis Corporation Minutes," *op. cit.*, No. 3, p. 8.

⁴¹ Rebecca Campbell Key, "A Notice of Some of the First Buildings . . .," *loc. cit.*, p. 264, said her father was one of the first chosen alderman at the conclusion of the long quarrel set in motion by the prank in the State House. She may have been speaking of the council election, though the quarrel still had a year or more to run. The city records do not extend to the election of Campbell as an alderman.

cations were. Even the judges admitted there had been confusion in the past.⁴²

The city fathers of Annapolis could no longer ignore the clamor for reform. They were answering the reforms with a strong dose of their own medicine. After two years of inactivity, the city suddenly cracked down on store and inn-keepers who sold strong drink to servants, in violation of the by-laws. Unsuspecting merchants even discovered that one section of the law seemed to bar sales to some of the poorer classes of freemen. Three or four servants were involved in most of the charges, indicating a possible "plant."⁴³

The city leadership later blamed the zeal of the prosecutor, Chase himself, but Chase's reaction and the outrage of his tradesmen compatriots seems to indicate that he had little choice but to present the charges, and the merchants on the grand jury no choice but to return the indictments.⁴⁴ The January 1765 Grand Jury indicted 39 persons on nearly 400 counts, and a second jury handed down another large batch in April.⁴⁵

The crackdown was impartial enough. The accused included William Reynolds, who kept the tavern where the court met,⁴⁶ Lancelot Jacques, Councilman and Court party member, and Agnes Baldwin, the mother-in-law of the prosecutor. The petit juries and the prosecution seemed less than enthusiastic. Reynolds was acquitted; Jacques was fined 40 shillings for one count of selling in spite of a not guilty plea; Mrs. Baldwin, now an ordinary keeper, was not so strangely acquitted of similar charges after Chase disdained such a nicety as stepping aside.⁴⁷ There were many other acquittals. A poor house-

⁴² "Annapolis Corporation Minutes," *loc. cit.*, No. 2, pp. 250-253.

⁴³ Indictments and trials in "Annapolis Corporation Minutes," *loc. cit.*, No. 2, pp. 246-248, 253-351; No. 3, pp. 1-54.

⁴⁴ From the exchange in the "Paper War," cited in footnote 2.

⁴⁵ "Annapolis Corporation Minutes," *loc. cit.*, No. 2, pp. 246-248; No. 3, pp. 33, 34.

⁴⁶ Payments to Reynolds are recorded in Annapolis "Ledger H No. 1," *loc. cit.*, p. 5. The January grand jury did so much business it needed a "quire" of paper, which Reynolds furnished at a cost of one shilling.

⁴⁷ "Annapolis Corporation Minutes," *loc. cit.*, No. 2, pp. 246-248, 346; No. 3, pp. 30, 31, 43-45. Mrs. Baldwin took out a license to keep an ordinary in June, 1761, before her husband was sent off to debtors' prison. He died shortly thereafter. She renewed the license periodically, the last time with Chase as a security

painter ended up in the hands of the sheriff,⁴⁸ but Chase associates furnished securities for many of the others who were convicted. Chase himself advanced the security for one man.⁴⁹

The townspeople were working up to a charge of deception by the city fathers, but the outside world intruded. The passage of the Stamp Act took center stage for the remainder of the spring and summer.⁸ Annapolitans turned their newfound power of protest on Zachariah Hood, the newly appointed stamp collector for Maryland who arrived in August. With Chase in the van,⁵⁰ outdoor politics arrived in Maryland along with the stamp collector. A mob tried to prevent Hood's landing. A few days later another mob burned Hood in effigy. Still another pulled down a house on which Hood had taken a lease. The would-be stamp collector wisely fled northward.⁵¹

The city officials, said Chase, skulked in their houses while he and the mob repelled Hood.⁵² Those conservatives shunned such popular demonstrations, but there was, in truth, no basic disagreement between the factions on opposition to the Stamp Act. Even proprietary officials saw it as an interference with His Lordship's prerogatives and revenues, and opposed it secretly if not openly.⁵³ But officialdom was alarmed at the appeal to the prejudices of the people.⁵⁴ The conservatives preferred to depend on the passive resort to homespun and manufactures and the appeal to reason advanced by the pen of

for the maintenance of peace and order in her house. "Anne Arundel County Court Judgments," *loc. cit.*, IMB No. 1, pp. 165, 216, 569, 815; "Testamentary Papers," *loc. cit.*, Box 65, Folder 10.

⁸⁴ "Annapolis Corporation Minutes," *loc. cit.*, No. 2, pp. 257-271.

⁴⁹ Annapolis "Ledger H No. 1," *loc. cit.*, p. 12.

⁵⁰ By charge of the city officials, *Md. Gaz.*, June 19, 1766, and Chase's own admission, handbill, *op. cit.*, July 18, 1766, of connection with at least the second affair.

⁵¹ The Hood affair is related with interesting variations in David Ridgely, *Annals of Annapolis* (Baltimore, 1841), p. 137; *Md. Gaz.*, Aug. 22, 29, 1765; Gov. Horatio Sharpe to the Earl of Halifax, Sept. 5, 1765, to Gen. Gage, Sept. 6, 23, 1765, to Lord Baltimore, Sept. 10, 1765, to Cecilius Calvert, Oct. 2, 1765, *The Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe*, 3 vols. *Archives of Maryland*, XIV, 221-231.

⁵² Chase handbill, *op. cit.*, July 18, 1766.

⁵³ Sharpe to Lord Baltimore, July 11, 1765, *Archives of Maryland*, XIV, 211; Hugh Hamersley to Sharpe, Feb. 22, 1766, *ibid.*, pp. 274, 284; *ibid.*, LIX, x; Barker, *op. cit.*, p. 302; Charles Carroll of Carrollton to Mr. Jennings, Nov. 23, 1765, Carroll "Letterbook, 1765-1768," MS, Md. Hist. Soc.

⁵⁴ See Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer to Robert and James Christie, Feb. 21, 1766, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, LVI (Sept. 1961) p. 294.

Daniel Dulany, whose *Considerations* came off the press in October.⁵⁵

The split between Dulany traditionalists and the Chase activists was further widened that fall by the outbreak of a personal feud that affected the course of Maryland history for the next 20 years.⁵⁶ Daniel's brother Walter had accepted the position as Naval Officer (port collector) since his election to the assembly, which finally met late in September. The lower house promptly turned the "no placemen" slogan on Walter and ordered a new election in Annapolis, to give the voters a chance to express their opinions. Chase, true to his campaign slogan, voted with the majority for the new election, and campaigned against his one-time political ally. Dulany, as mayor, sat as his own election judge during the voice voting October 5 and was declared re-elected. The Annapolis residents carried a protest to the lower house, which again refused to seat Dulany and ordered another election. This time the good Mayor withdrew altogether and on December 4, the citizens unanimously elected John Hall, Chase's former law-teacher and a moderate Country party sympathizer. The Proprietary thus lost both seats from Annapolis in less than 13 months.⁵⁷

The Stamp Act, meanwhile, took effect November 1. With no stamps and no stamp collector, the courts, land offices and ports ceased operations, and *The Maryland Gazette* fell silent. But before the month was out, Sam Chase was helping to reopen the county court in Frederick County. By the new year some other courts and outlying ports were following suit, resuming business without stamped legal paper. The newspaper

⁵⁵ Land. *op. cit.*, pp. 259-265.

⁵⁶ Walter Dulany died in 1773, Owings, *op. cit.*, p. 132, but Daniel and Chase carried on the feud. Other incidents, some only to be guessed at, seemed necessary to make the feeling so bitter. The elder Charles Carroll and others felt Chase pushed some of his most repressive measures during the Revolution solely out of hatred for Dulany. Charles Carroll to Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Nov. 7, 18, 1777, Carroll MSS, *loc. cit.*, V, 55, 64.

⁵⁷ *Archives of Maryland*, LIX, 20, 21, 135, 136, 144, 151-153; "Annapolis Corporation Minutes," *loc. cit.*, No. 3, pp. 60, 68; Chase handbill *op. cit.*, July 18, 1766. Sanderson, *op. cit.*, IX, 232, identifies Hall as a Chase teacher. Hall's sympathies established by study of his votes in the lower house, author's unpublished thesis, Daniel Dulany had the good grace to absent himself during Walter's reelection, and resigned as Recorder a month later before Hall's succession. "Annapolis Corporation Minutes," *op. cit.*, No. 3, p. 67.

began reappearing.⁵⁸ By February, the forward Baltimore Sons of Liberty were asking Chase and his friend William Paca to help organize a drive on the provincial offices in the capital itself.⁵⁹

Chase and Paca called a meeting of the citizens on the capitol grounds on February 26, 1766. Charles Carroll of Carrollton, not yet in sympathy with revolution, said there were some unguarded statements but cooler heads prevailed. But at the end of the week, some Baltimore Sons of Liberty reinforced the local incendiaries and they marched on the public offices to determine why they could not be opened for business immediately.⁶⁰ Thus the protest took on the third dimension. The proprietary officials here trying to uphold the Parliamentary directive against operations without stamps were, in other guises, the late recorder and two of the aldermen of Annapolis. Deputy Secretary Daniel Dulany, Chief Justice Brice of the Provincial Court, and Judge George Steuart of the Land Office gave the equivocal replies to the Sons. Again moderation prevailed and the deadline for the opening was put off until the end of the month. On April first, Chase and the Sons of Liberty returned and forced the officials to give in to the out of doors pressure.⁶¹ Four days later the first premature word of the repeal of the Stamp Act came to Maryland; soon Daniel Dulany was circulating a charge that the "intemperate" proceedings in Maryland had embarrassed the efforts of London merchants to have the act repealed.⁶²

The embattled Annapolis burghers needed all the ammunition they could find, for they were now locked in the climactic paper war with Chase and his cohorts. The struggle began early in March, between the assaults on the provincial offices.

⁵⁸ Barker, *op. cit.*, pp. 308, 309; "Frederick County Court Judgments" and "Minutes," MS, microfilm roll 258, November 1765 court, Md. Hall of Records; *Md. Gaz.* "Reviving," Jan. 30, 1766.

⁵⁹ Charles Carroll of Carrollton to Daniel Barrington, Mar. 17, 1766, Thomas Meagher Field, ed., *The Unpublished Letters of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, and of His Father, Charles Carroll of Doughoregan* (New York, 1902), p. 112.

⁶⁰ The main accounts of the series of Sons of Liberty meetings are found in *ibid.*, pp. 112-113, and *Md. Gaz.*, Mar. 6, 1766, with editor Green much more enthusiastic than Charles Carroll.

⁶¹ *Md. Gaz.*, April 3, 1766; Chase handbill, *op. cit.*, July 18, 1766.

⁶² *Md. Gaz.*, April 10, May 15, 1766.

Resentment over the high-handed tactics of the city government finally boiled over, especially when the Mayor's Court again adjourned before the grand jury could present a formal remonstrance.⁶³

By his own admission, it was His Lordship's own prosecutor Sam Chase, who was in the jury rooms at Reynolds' Tavern, helping compose the jurors' complaints when the court adjourned. Chase admitted writing the greater part of the remonstrance,⁶⁴ and the unmistakable style makes it plain that the same "ill Adviser," as the aldermen called him, also wrote the second juror's letter.

A week after the adjournment the thwarted grand jurors found space in *The Maryland Gazette* for their complaints.⁶⁵ They complained of many things: of laxity, absenteeism and delay in filling vacancies on the Mayor's Court Bench, of misuse of city funds raised by lottery, of by-laws not made known to the populace, and of the severity of certain laws, especially of the one relating to the sale of rum to servants and certain freemen. The latter, they said, is "greatly Prejudicial to the Happiness and Prosperity of the Inhabitants of the City, and if duly Executed will greatly discourage TRADESMEN and MERCHANTS from Settling here . . ." ⁶⁶

Mayor Walter Dulany, and Aldermen Michael MacNemara, George Steuart, John Brice II and Upton Scott commandeered the front page of the succeeding March 20 issue of the *Gazette* for a haughty reply to the late grand jurors "misled by the Influence of an *ill Advisor*." Chase audaciously admitted his role in a brief letter in the March 27 *Gazette*, making it all the more galling, perhaps, when four days later he and the Sons of Liberty went calling on two of his targets in their other capacities to force the opening of the provincial offices. Chase promised an early reply from the grand jurors, but

⁶³ *Ibid.*, Mar. 13, 1766.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, Mar. 27, 1766.

⁶⁵ The remonstrance was submitted by foreman Colin Campbell on behalf of the grand jury. The other members, not named in the publication, were Allen Quynn, William Knapp, William Wilkins, James Dixon, Henry Caton, Joshua Frazier, Sanders Baldwin, Andrew Buchanan, Robert Reynolds, Henry Wilkins, John Campbell and Thomas Hyde. "Annapolis Corporation minutes," *loc. cit.*, No. 3, p. 69.

⁶⁶ *Md. Gaz.*, Mar. 13, 1766.

one Reverdy Ghiselin, a court party sycophant and clerk to Daniel Dulany, relayed threats of a libel suit to editor Jonas Green. Not until May first did the grand jurors—now reduced to eight⁶⁷—raise the money to indemnify Green⁶⁸ and so fire the second round of their barrage.

In the May first letter the jurors retreated from some obvious over-statements, but held to the attack. Their charges for the most part kept the city fathers on the defensive in their own lengthy reply of June 19. But on one score, the rage of the mayor and aldermen could no longer be contained. They lashed out at the man they believed at the bottom of their problems, and in their bitterness, made the prosecutor of the Mayor's Court perhaps the only man in Maryland singled out for public criticism for resisting the Stamp Act.

The letter of June 19 grimly attacked a "restless turbulent Demagogue, who seeks to render himself Important in the Eyes of his weak deluded votaries," who clamors for good government "at the very Instant that he is acting the Part of an Incendiary, by endeavouring to propagate Confusion, and to sacrifice all Order and Authority to his factious Views and ambitious Schemes of Power . . ." ⁶⁹

From the degree of upset, it would seem the Annapolis elders well understood that the popular assault on the provincial offices posed something far more dangerous than a mere challenge to the Stamp Act. In the final paragraph, their exasperation led them into a whole string of italics aimed at Chase: "*a busy restless Incendiary—a foul-mouth'd and inflaming Son of Discord and Faction—a common Disturber of the public Tranquility . . .*" Besides that, they charged that he was ungrateful to them, and they sought to show by a statement taken grossly out of context⁷⁰ that Chase had once supported the Stamp Act.

Editor Green now put his foot down and refused to take the risk of printing Chase's reply. In mid-July the accused

⁶⁷ Only Allen Quynn, John Campbell, Joshua Frazier, Robert Reynolds, William Wilkins, Henry Caton, Sanders Baldwin and Henry Wilkins signed the second publication, *Md. Gaz.*, May 1, 1766.

⁶⁸ Jonas Green, *ibid.*

⁶⁹ Signed by "Walter Dulany, M. Macnemara, Geo. Steuart, John Brice, U. Scott," *ibid.*, June 19, 1766.

⁷⁰ As Chase easily proved in his handbill, *op. cit.*, July 18, 1766.

prosecutor announced that his answer could be seen in manuscript and would shortly be available in handbills, obviously printed elsewhere.⁷¹ It proved to be a diatribe with an outspokenness unusual even for that era of abusive political hyperbole. The city fathers had never quite dropped the cloak of innuendo. Chase boldly named his targets. Steuart "*crept into the Province from a Foreign Dunghill . . . and by Cringing, and Fawning, and Pimping, and Lying, sneak'd into Proprietary Notice . . .*" Brice had a "*Passion for Wealth.*" Scott was a "*wretched Dependant.*" Walter Dulany seemed guilty of little more than a "*vengeful Temper,*" but the dissolute MacNemara was guilty of a "*continued Round of Vice, and Folly, Drunkenness and Debauchery,*" of deserting his hungry children for "*the Harlots Embraces . . .*" Collectively, he described the members of the Mayor's Court as "*despicable Pimps, and Tools of Power, emerged from Obscurity, and basking in proprietary Sun shine . . .*"⁷²

Michael MacNemara was indeed tumbling downhill to disgrace, debtors' prison and an early death.⁷³ Chase himself defended him in a debt suit the next May,⁷⁴ but the merciless truth of such an attack may as much as anything have deprived the good burghers of any further taste for battle. Apprised of the lengths to which young Chase could go, they suddenly deserted the public prints. They neither answered, nor sued for libel, nor even demanded that Chase resign as prosecutor. The Court followers retreated to their own aldermanic castle, there to hold out as long as possible behind the ramparts of virtual life tenures.⁷⁵

Chase's handbill thus became the final volley in the Annapolis Paper War. The retreat, however, had actually been underway since five days after the first missive, the juror's remonstrance of March 13. The city fathers then had parti-

⁷¹ *Md. Gaz.*, July 17, 1766.

⁷² Chase handbill, *op. cit.*, July 18, 1766.

⁷³ Charles Carroll of Carrollton to the Countess of Auzouer, Sept. 20, 1771, J. G. D. Paul, "A Lost Copy-Book of Charles Carroll of Carrollton," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXXII, 204.

⁷⁴ "Provincial Court Judgments," *loc. cit.*, DD12, p. 513.

⁷⁵ The City officials had to requalify themselves when a new sovereign began his rule—normally a formality—otherwise only decease or removal from the area could end their terms. Riley, *The Ancient City*.

ally admitted charges of laxity and non-attendance to duties by hastening to bestow the vacant post of recorder on a dying man.⁷⁶

The retreat continued in April when the Mayor's Court obviated its own later argument against the right of remonstrance by entering in the minutes for the first time the remonstrance submitted by the succeeding grand jury.⁷⁷

In May, the rich and powerful Benjamin Tasker gave further credence to the non-attendance charge by resigning as alderman, admitting he hadn't even bothered to qualify for the office in recent years. The aldermen were able to reach into the Common Council for a Lancelot Jacques to replace Tasker, but Chase's friend William Paca won the election for the resulting council vacancy. And the post of recorder, vacated again by death, was this time surrendered to John Hall of the Country party.⁷⁸

In July, Nicholas Maccubin, a councilman charged with non-attendance, also resigned. So did Thomas Hyde, a late grand juror who had not signed the second letter. The Country party suffered a temporary setback when Lloyd Dulany, son of Daniel won election to one of the vacancies.⁷⁹ But then came the Chase handbill to virtually sweep the field.

In August, the one-time stalwart, Dr. George Steuart, thought it best to set off for a visit to England. In September, death further reduced the number within the ramparts by taking John Brice II and John Ross, another conservative alderman.⁸⁰ The remaining members of the Mayor's Court had enough spunk left to select two more conservatives from the Common Council to fill the vacancies, and unanimously to elect Upton Scott from their ranks to the post of mayor.⁸¹ But they were fast running out of reinforcements.

⁷⁶ *Md. Gaz.*, Mar. 20, 1766. Edmund Key, the new recorder, was in the last stages of consumption, and died six weeks later. Charles Carroll of Carrollton to Edmund Jennings, May 29, 1766, Field, *op. cit.*, p. 120; *Md. Gaz.*, May 8, 1766.

⁷⁷ "Annapolis Corporation Minutes," *loc. cit.*, No. 3, pp. 117-119.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 167-169. On Paca's friendship, see "Excerpts from the Papers of Dr. Benjamin Rush," *Pa. Mag.*, XXIX, 28.

⁷⁹ Annapolis Corporation Minutes," *loc. cit.*, No. 3, pp. 117-119.

⁸⁰ *Md. Gaz.*, Aug. 28, Sept. 25, 1766.

⁸¹ "Annapolis Corporation Minutes," *loc. cit.*, No. 3, p. 172. The new aldermen, Jonas Green and William Roberts, were perhaps not the staunchest supporters of the Court party. Green, though an old friend of the Dulanys, seemed

In a last forlorn sally, the members of the court, sitting as judges at the poll, sought to block the inevitable in the ensuing council election on October 4, 1766. Sam Chase, John Bullen and John Brice Jr. sought the two seats. The court for the first time in years demanded to see the qualifications of the candidates, and actually threw out a deed professing a freehold qualification produced by Chase either on behalf of himself or of Bullen. What happened next remains a mystery, for the minutes jump directly to the statement that "At the Closing of the Poll a Majority of legal votes appearing in Favour of Messrs. Samuel Chase & John Bullen they were accordingly duly elected as Common Council Men . . ." ⁸² It is interesting to note that Chase at this time seems to have owned no freehold within the confines of Annapolis, though he could have qualified under an alternate provision requiring only a visible estate of 20 pounds.⁸³

The election of Chase and Bullen completed the encirclement and bypassing of the entrenched aldermen. After three years of struggle and attrition, the election finally gave Chase and his party of small tradesmen the majority on the Common Council.⁸⁴ It marked the final turning point in city affairs. The Mayor, Recorder and Common Council made the bylaws. The aldermen could take no part, according to the charter unearthed by Chase in that childish prank.

The new majority began remaking the laws in less than two weeks' time, but it took nearly two years to complete the task. Chase and his party dropped the clause forbidding the selling of rum to certain of the poorer freemen. But the provision against selling to servants was retained as was a bylaw giving justices of the peace summary powers to order fractious ser-

to side with the radicals on the Stamp Act, and expressed some pique at being passed over for alderman earlier. *Md. Gaz.*, Mar. 6, April 3, May 22, 1766, Nov. 10, 1768. Roberts clearly had no connection with the radicals, but did not vote down the line with the conservatives in his two recorded votes as a councilman. "Annapolis Corporation Minutes," *op. cit.*, No. 2, pp. 222, 223, 228.

⁸² *Ibid.*, No. 3, p. 173.

⁸³ Charter, Riley, *The Ancient City*.

⁸⁴ Chase, Paca, Quynn and Campbell, presumably joined by Middleton, Harris and Bullen, would give the small tradesmen a solid majority on the ten-man Council. Hall, as recorder, would presumably balance the vote of Mayor Upton Scott.

vants off to the whipping block. A new bylaw was added which set up a system for licensing ordinaries and taverns and regulating their prices. The new regime otherwise dropped a tax on female dogs, doubled the fine for non-attendance at Mayor's Court, and voted a 12-pound annual salary for the prosecutor.⁸⁵

Reform did not seem spectacular. The late grand jurors had complained of ignorance of the bylaws by the citizenry. The new set was not finally proclaimed by the sheriff until 1768, nearly two years after some were adopted. Though the reform government paid the clerk 3 pounds, 4 shillings, 8 pence for copying the bylaws for the "Press," they were apparently never printed.⁸⁶

Reform did not prevent a rash of house-breakings which shortly required a new law setting up night watches. It did not prevent gambling. The Mayor's Court continued to sit erratically. The harbor continued to silt up, the falling water table more than a match for whatever dredging was financed by a new lottery staged by the reformers.⁸⁷

Still the citizenry seemed more satisfied. Jonas Green's paper records no more complaints of the sort printed in that vital year of 1766, so it cannot be fairly said that the only result was change for change's sake. It would be a mistake in any case to dismiss the Annapolis civic protest as a mere exchange of the "ins" for the "outs." Chase and his party had joined popular force to the politics of protest. With a scathing and significantly unpunished contempt for authority, they had defeated not only the mayor and aldermen of Annapolis, but had shaken their pretense to govern in other areas. The example surely loosened the bonds finally sundered a decade later.

⁸⁵ "Annapolis By-laws, 1768-1788," *loc. cit.*, pp. 2-44.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 44; "Ledger H No. 1," *loc. cit.*, p. 17.

⁸⁷ "Annapolis By-laws, 1768-1788," *loc. cit.*, pp. 45-47; Michael Earle to Thomas Ringgold, Oct. 15, 1773, Henry Hollyday MSS, Md. Hist. Soc. The Council had to pass a by-law reviving the court when it failed to meet according to adjournment at one point. "Annapolis By-laws, 1768-1788," *loc. cit.*, p. 52. The lottery efforts are related in *Md. Gaz.*, Mar. 25, May 21, July 9, Sept. 10, Oct. 1, 1772.

POLITICS OF CRISIS: THE MARYLAND ELECTIONS OF 1788-89

By DOROTHY M. BROWN

FEW political struggles have been so crucial as the Autumn and Winter elections of 1788-89 in Maryland. Viewed by contemporaries as no less an Aramageddon than the tough and bitter battles for the ratification of the Constitution, these campaigns in the Free State significantly quickened the development of political techniques and parties. To the victors in the contest would fall the control of the State together with seats in the new national Congress whose incumbents would implement, fashion and interpret the new federal instrument of government. With such at stake, the Federalists and Anti-Federalists wheeled up their most potent and effective political weapons. Old antagonists in the paper money and Constitutional hustings girded for the contests that would finally end their sparring and forge a hopeful beginning in the new nation.

To the Federalists the issues in these local and national elections were clear-cut. The voter had the simple alternative of voting for order (the Constitution) or chaos (the amendments of the Anti-Federalists). He could select men of probity, godliness, and responsibility or choose profligates, malcontents and anarchists. At stake were the stability and survival of the nation. An Anti-Federalist victory would deliver the country into the hands of the minions of Satan. Even General Washington, a moderate man, warned neighboring Federalists in Maryland of secret and insidious Anti-Federalist plots and machinations. Writing to James McHenry, he anxiously noted: "It is whispered here that some leading characters among you have by no means dropped their resentment to the new Constitution but have determined on some secret plan to suspend the

proper organization of the government or to defeat it altogether.”¹ Echoing this admonition, a Free State observer summarized the Federalist position and added a warning:

The new Government, like a Musical Instrument, well tuned and skilfully struck by men of distinguished abilities, known integrity, and firm attachment, will produce perfect harmony—But played on by men confessedly unskilled, unprincipled, and inimical to it, will produce harsh discord, perpetual jars, and dire confusion which heaven forbid! ²

To the Anti-Federalists, on the other hand, the issues were black and white in reverse order. In their view the Constitution was a gilded trap to ensnare the unsuspecting.³ It was a conspiracy of the rich and power-hungry to overawe the common man and to foist on him a government reminiscent of British tyranny. To vote for the Federalists was to vote for the loss of individual rights and liberties.

National destruction or political suicide were the grim and unappetizing alternatives apparently offered to national and Free State voters in 1788-89. A vote for the Federalists would lead to order and the tyranny of the wealthy while a vote for the Antis was a ballot for freedom and the ruin of the country by the Federalists. In such an impasse, the political campaigns and elections promised to be lively.

In chronology and in turbulence the first clash of the factions and issues in the Free State came in the fight for control of the Maryland House of Delegates. Though the State legislature had obviously lost some of its stature in the shadow of the new national Congress, this election would give an unmistakable indication of the political climate in the Free State. A victory by either faction would herald probable success in the Maryland Congressional and Presidential campaigns.

Particularly hard fought was the struggle for Baltimore city's two seats. Here the redoubtable paper money champion Samuel Chase attempted with fellow lawyer David McMechen to capture the Federalist-dominated town for the Antis' cause.

¹ George Washington to James McHenry, July 31, 1788 cited in John C. Fitzpatrick (ed.), *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745-99* (Washington, 1937), XXX, 28-29.

² *The Maryland Gazette; or the Baltimore Advertiser*, July 11, 1788.

³ *The Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, June 13, 1788.

Accepting their challenge, and pitting doctors against lawyers, the local Federalists named physicians James McHenry and John Coulter as their champions. The campaign would center on class and constitutional issues. For, faced by two candidates of respectability and means, the local Antis, like their national counterparts, worked tirelessly to identify the Federalists as the wealthy enemy of the common man.

The most serious and insistent of a barrage of Anti-Federalist accusations was that aristocratic merchant-Federalists were using economic coercion on the voters. Typical was the indignant attack of "ADZE" in the *Maryland Journal* roundly condemning "the threatening of some great folks not to employ any of us Mechanicks, or to take work from us, unless we vote as the great men please. . . ." So effective was this dastardly pressure, asserted "ADZE" that one of his neighbors, a carpenter, had become "silent as a mouse from the threats of one of his employers."⁴ Elaborating on the same theme, "An Irishman" described Chase as a friend to the poor, (and thus presumably to the Irish) and fretted: "Ye beheld the late *parade* of some of the merchants to the Point, to canvass in opposition to Mr. Chase and Mr. McMechen. . . . What does such a parade mean! The language is so plain that a child may understand it. Coopers! we buy your casks; tradesmen! we are your employers; . . . No one body of men should rule this town."⁵ Indeed, no tyranny, wrote an Anti-Federalist "Voter of Baltimore-Town" could "be more cruel or hurtful than to attempt to enslave the minds of honest industrious men by this means."⁶

Recognizing the political effectiveness of this rich versus poor issue, the Federalists tried to tar the opposition with the same brush. In response to the Antis' press attacks, a Federalist "Real Voter" cited the record of both Chase and McMechen in their previous terms in the House of Delegates. Both had voted a tax on liquor shopkeepers, approved an appropriation of £5,000 for clearing the Potomac, and £3,000 a year to support two colleges. Such measures, "Real Voter" contended, showed little genuine sympathy with the poor taxpayers of Baltimore town.⁷ An article by "Federalists" further

⁴ *Ibid.*, Sept. 5, 1788. It was common practice to adopt similar symbolic pseudonyms for press attacks.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Sept. 30, 1788.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Sept. 5, 1788.

⁷ *Ibid.*

attacked Chase's pose as the friend of the poor. If Chase was not rich, it was not from lack of effort. Indeed few Marylanders had had more or better opportunities to amass a fortune. Chase's failure, contended "Federalists," was merely additional proof of his general lack of ability.⁸

This effort of the factions to win the vote of the masses was accompanied by drives to solidify and make politically effective the various minority groups. Germans, assured that their vote could determine the election, were urged to act together.⁹ The Irish were asked to ballot for James McHenry because of his Celtic ancestry.¹⁰ Religious minorities were also wooed. Chase was so often accused of being anti-Catholic that he was forced to issue a broadside two days before the election to appeal "To the Roman Catholic Voters in Baltimore-Town." The contention was that he had supported measures to confiscate church lands and buildings. Chase dismissed this as fraudulent. The bill he had sanctioned had involved a mere legal technicality, the transferral of the titles of church holdings from the religious community to an individual superior.¹¹ It had never been his intention to undermine the position of the Catholic church in the Free State. The real mischief, insisted the beleaguered candidate, lay in the fallacious and misleading attacks of the Federalists.

Increasingly, as a bitter counterpoint to their class and minority appeals, both factions turned to personal insult, invective and accusations. Chase, always a favorite target, was charged with speculating in flour needed to supply Maryland forces during the Revolution; he was also accused of trading with the enemy.¹² Why, queried the Federalists, were such illuminating pieces of history omitted from his campaign talks to the electorate?

Of the Federalist tandem, John Coulter, "the dwarf-like apothecary,"¹³ was the prime victim of the Antis' barbs. Local critic "Switch" asserted that he would rather send a "one-

⁸ *The Maryland Gazette; or the Baltimore Advertiser*, Sept. 26, 1788.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Sept. 22, 1788.

¹⁰ *The Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, Sept. 30, 1788.

¹¹ Samuel Chase, "To the Roman Catholic Voters in Baltimore-Town," October 4, 1788, broadside collection, Maryland Historical Society. Henceforth designated as MHS.

¹² *The Maryland Gazette; or the Baltimore Advertiser*, Sept. 26, 1788.

eyed goose" to the Assembly than a two-eyed man of no talent who spoke in monosyllables and acted "like Punch in the puppet-show, as the party behind the curtain directs."¹⁴ Coulter's apparent weakness was further emphasized by "ADZE," who criticized McHenry's party spirit in asserting that "he did not thank any of us to vote for him, unless they would also vote for his brother Doctor."¹⁵ A more positive attacker, "Caution" after complaining of the theatrical affectations, hypocritical cant and ridiculous gasconades of both Federalist candidates, dismissed them as fit "only for the society of old women, where gossiping and scandal are the favorite topics."¹⁶

As the tempo and rancor of the campaign heightened, both factions utilized the town meeting and political rally for a more immediate contact with the electorate. Early in the campaign, Chase had promised to call a town meeting to answer the charges of the opposition. Two weeks before the scheduled election, however, he had yet to hold the meeting. Instead of honorably fulfilling his pledge to the voter, the Federalists charged, Chase and his running-mate were "employing their *pains-taking partisans* in circulating by whispers, things that will not bear an open examination."¹⁷ In response to these tactics and in lieu of the Chase meeting, the Federalists called an assemblage of their own. Local Federalist leader Robert Smith took the platform to repeat, more positively, charges that he and others of the party had made in the press. Neither of the Antis, Smith argued, could be trusted. McMechen had already betrayed the people's trust while serving in the General Assembly. Presented with a petition of eight hundred names asking for a Federal convention, he had irresponsibly and willfully delayed in delivering it to the House of Delegates.¹⁸ Chase's history was dredged up once again. Smith climaxed his remarks by quoting the Chase declaration that he "would have been the greatest Tory in all Amerca" if he had only known during the Revolution the present outcome of the war.¹⁹

¹³ *Ibid.*, Aug. 5, 1788.

¹⁴ *The Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser, Extraordinary*, Sept. 12, 1788.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, Sept. 5, 1788.

¹⁶ *The Maryland Gazette; or the Baltimore Advertiser* Aug. 5, 1788.

¹⁷ *The Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, Aug. 19, 1788.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Sept. 30, 1788 and Oct. 3, 1788.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Sept. 19, 1788.

Stung into action, Chase finally called a meeting of his own for September 27, early enough to give the voter time to consider the issues by October 6, election day.²⁰

During the August and September electioneering, words increasingly degenerated into blows. A series of free-swinging altercations broke out at political rallies. From conflicting press reports, however, it is difficult to credit either camp with instigations or victories. Typical were the accounts of a Gay Street imbroglio. According to a reporter in the *Maryland Journal*, September 5, the Federalists, backed by a gang of toughs and thugs baited and then assaulted a peaceful assemblage of Antis at a Gay Street rally. In the same issue of the *Journal*, however, "A Real Voter" exonerated the Federalists. A group had merely gone to the Antis' meeting to try to contradict some of their lies. Unfortunately this peaceful mission had been thwarted when a "strong riotous" Chase supporter had insulted one of the Federalist visitors and precipitated a quarrel. Finally, still another version was given by "A True Federalist." The Gay Street meeting, he contended, was not a public gathering, but merely a meeting of some of the friends of Chase and McMechen. "Furious zealous partizans" had thrust themselves into this private party. When an honest citizen objected to this Federalist invasion, he had been set upon by numbers of cowardly gangsters.²¹

There were more serious incidents as the election neared. At the close of a Chase-McMechen rally near the Court House, twenty to thirty men armed with bludgeons fell on the hapless Antis and soundly thumped those who had not retreated fast enough. Advancing on the Chase house, the mob tried unsuccessfully to force an entrance. After smashing some windows, they finally dispersed. Again, there were several conflicting reports of the incident in the press. A Federalist writer "Citizen," though admitting he was not certain just how the riot started, blamed the incendiary words of the speaker Chase. The grog served by the Anti-Federalists also did little to keep the peace. In addition "Citizen" observed, the Antis had "barbarously treated worthy citizens" only a week previously. The action might be considered in this light mere retaliation.²²

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Sept. 9, 1788.

²¹ *Ibid.*, Sept. 12, 1788.

²² *Ibid.*, Sept. 23, 1788.

With obviously a Federalist tongue in cheek, "A Candid Spectator" feared for Chase's life. Only the action of fifty or sixty of the lawyer's opponents had been able to stop the mob from tearing down the candidate's house. Delightedly, this correspondent suggested that the Anti-Federalist candidates be guarded until election day "from the effects of the popular displeasure."²³

Though this dubious offer was not acted upon, some precautions were taken to insure at least a measure of peace at the polls. A broadside issued on October 3 by Chase and McMechen detailed the arrangements agreed upon by the four candidates. The polls would remain open for four days, nine hours each day. Two justices of the peace were to be in constant attendance. Three friends of each candidate would be admitted to the polling places as observers. If necessary, they could object to the qualifications of a voter. All citizens were forbidden to come to the polls or walk in the streets with weapons, sticks, colors, fifes or drums. Masters were requested to keep slaves and servants home until the voting ended at sunset; captains were urged to keep sailors who were not citizens from coming on shore.²⁴

In spite of this detailed and pious pronouncement, Federalists continued to distrust the reliability of the Antis' pledged word. In an extra of the *Maryland Journal*, October 4, "Caveto" charged that the Chase-McMechen forces had already ordered a number of liberty caps to be carried on poles through the streets. Fife and drums were in readiness to spark a scheduled Anti-Federalist parade to the hustings. These preparations, however, did not alarm other Federalists as much as the heavy betting on the election and the possible interference of these gamblers with the process of balloting.²⁵

On Monday, October 6, the Maryland electorate went to the polls in Baltimore and throughout the State to select a new House of Delegates. By the end of the week, Federalists McHenry and Coulter triumphed over their rivals by 635 and 623

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ Samuel Chase and David McMechen, "To the Voters of Baltimore-Town," October 3, 1788, broadside collection, Md. Hist. Soc.

²⁵ *The Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, Oct. 7, 1788.

votes to 502 and 494 for Chase and McMechen.²⁶ Only in Baltimore, Anne Arundel, and Harford counties were Antis chosen. In Baltimore, the Charles Ridgely entourage swept in; Anne Arundel elected Jeremiah T. Chase and John Francis Mercer; Harford returned William Pinkney, local lawyer. In spite of the Antis' class appeal and ardent campaigning, they had received a state-wide drubbing at the polls. However, they refused to accept political oblivion.

Five days after the voting had ended, Baltimore's "Friends of Antifederalism" were summoned to a meeting to consider further measures to undo the unfortunate election and to keep Baltimore in "hot water" as long as possible.²⁷ Resulting from this no-surrender meeting were a series of indignant press attacks accusing the Federalists of muscle tactics at the hustings, fraudulent voting, and the stifling of the true political sentiment of the city.

An unsigned article in the October 14, *Maryland Journal* made the Antis' charges specific. On the first day of the voting, it was charged, merchants and gentlemen supporting McHenry had paraded through town followed by sailors with a ship and pilot boat (reminiscent of the May celebration of Constitutional ratification). Behind this vanguard trooped a large crowd of ineligible voters. With wildly waving colors and the music of fife and drum, these McHenry men took possession of the polls and arbitrarily screened and checked would-be voters. Such tactics, the article charged, were only a preview. On the second day of the balloting, a Chase-McMechen group arrived at the polls. Almost all were voters, yet were forced from their stations and beaten and abused by a Federalist mob. That evening and on every election night handbills had been distributed threatening to name those who voted for Chase and McMechen as "enemies to the new federal government." In the face of such physical and moral threats, contended the Antis, the real vote of the city was not cast.

A furious "Switch" issued a sardonic prescription for winning an election, writing in the *Journal*:

Circulate a thousand *lies*, and always keep a party ready to swear to their *truth*—speak of secret intelligence . . . *assert boldly* and

²⁶ *Ibid.*, Oct. 10, 1788.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, Oct. 14, 1788.

swear roundly . . . cast dirt enough, some will stick . . . make a great parade and assume a *military* appearance . . . beat a few *peaceful* citizens, and thereby, you will frighten many others. *Conscience* must lie still, while *perjury* is encouraged, and give it a sanction by *grave advice* . . . tell one man he may safely swear, "that he has the property required by law," although you *lend* him the case or a *gold watch*. Advise another that he may take the same *oath* if he has debts due him from the State, or individuals, although he may *die*, or his debtor be *unable* to pay him . . . for a future prospect is a present property. If a man is a tradesman, *not worth a shilling*, advise him that he may swear he has property to the value of thirty pounds; because he may *earn* that sum by his trade, if he *lives long enough*.²⁸

In the face of these charges, the Federalists insisted that they were innocent of any violence or skullduggery. Indeed, if there had been any mischief, they asserted, it was the Antis who had flagrantly violated the election regulations. A Federalist writer "Baltimorean" detailed the accusations. On a Saturday before the election, he charged, David McMechen had visited Fells Point dressed in the shabby clothes of a sailor. He toured the local grog shops, drinking with the sailors and playing Scaramouche to get them to parade on the first day of the election. On Monday the Antis had duly paraded from Fells Point to the hustings, bearing a flag, carried by an alien, and flaunting liberty caps. Arriving at the polls, they had stationed themselves in front of the door and stayed there the entire day. On Tuesday morning the Chase-McMechen forces still held the polls. In addition to their obstruction, they erected an insulting sign attacking McHenry, and, to lighten the occasion and mellow the voter distributed two casks of gin. Finally, in the afternoon, McHenry's men forcefully won control of the polling places. They allowed all to vote without distinction. On Wednesday, Chase marched at the head of five hundred men, only one hundred ten of them qualified voters, and asked free access to the polls. In spite of the Antis' previous actions, the Federalists magnanimously let them vote.²⁹

Assuming a middle ground between these conflicting Anti-Federalist and Federalist reports, "Spectator," an apparently impartial observer, promised to report what had really happened at the controversial election. On the first day, he stated,

²⁸ *Ibid.*, Oct. 17, 1788.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, Oct. 24, 1788.

though there had been a large crowd and some pushing, no real blows had been traded. On the second day, however, the Chase-McMechen forces arrived, threw mud and sand at the Federalists and scuffled with the opposition for the control of the polls. The McHenry-Coulter men repulsed the attack and occupied the voting places. The third and fourth days had produced no further action.³⁰ The one constant in all the stories was the fact that the Federalists had controlled the polls on the second day after, beating off an attack of the Antis.

Having informally contested the election results in the press the Antis next carried their complaints to the House of Delegates. Here Chase and McMechen argued that the voting had been fraudulent due to violence, threats, and the use of liquor and money by Federalist supporters. This petition of the Antis, however, had little chance of success in the Federalist-dominated House. After hearing a few witnesses, and determining that McHenry and Coulter should not be allowed to vote on the petition, the delegates declared the Baltimore Federalists duly elected.³¹

Alerted and annoyed by the intransigence of the Antis and their lingering support in Baltimore, Anne Arundel, and Harford county areas, the Federalists determined to profit from their experience in the campaigns for the House of Delegates. In the upcoming national Congressional and Presidential voting, they would clip the wings of this Anti-Federalist resistance once and for all. Swiftly, the newly elected lower house moved to insure the election of a complete slate of Federalist Congressmen. The State was divided into Congressional districts; each Maryland voter could choose six candidates, one from each area. Consequently, ballots in Frederick County could elect a candidate from Anne Arundel and vice versa.³² With the weight of the entire State thrown against the three recalcitrant Anti counties, the Federalists confidently anticipated a party Congressional sweep.

In these first national elections, the issues were the same as those in the local campaigns for the House of Delegates. Again

³⁰ *The Maryland Gazette; or the Baltimore Advertiser*, Nov. 28, 1788.

³¹ Maryland, *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Delegates*, Nov. session, 1788, p. 17.

³² Maryland, *Laws of Maryland*, 1788, Ch. X.

the Antis stood forth as friends to Constitutional amendments and "jealous guardians of the rights of the people . . . avowedly opposed to that aristocratical influence and spirit which are prevalent in the councils of this State and dangerous to public liberty."³³ On the other hand, Federalists like "Tom Plain Truth" asserted that the Constitution was still in danger. The Antis, it was shouted, were the same old paper money men dedicated to chaos and confusion. As confirmation of their mischief-making propensities, Federalist propagandist "Honestus" cited some old Anti prophecies of doom if the Constitution were adopted. The electorate had been deluged with grim warnings. Methodists had been told that the Roman Catholic religion would be established; Quakers were warned that Presbyterians would dominate American ecclesiastical circles. Reputedly, excise men would control trade in soap, candles and cider and be empowered to search homes or persons at any time. To help pay the American debt, ten thousand militia men would be shipped to France. In addition, the Antis threatened that if the Constitution were put into effect "every poor man's son at the age of fourteen, is to be enrolled as a soldier and for the most trifling fault will be drawn up to the halberd; and have nearly his guts lashed out by perhaps a Negro drummer." Climaxing these dire predictions was the assertion that the third son of George III, Prince William Henry, was slated to be king of America.³⁴ To bury forever such lies and their perpetrators, the Federalists asked for one more victory at the polls.³⁵

To insure state-wide party cooperation in these first Congressional campaigns both the Federalists and Anti-Federalists introduced the new device of party tickets. Listed were complete slates for the six Congressional and eight electoral posts.³⁶ Yet, though party regularity was encouraged, it was obvious that party alignments were less than certain. There were several discrepancies in the tickets printed in the Balti-

³³ *The Maryland Gazette; or the Baltimore Advertiser*, Dec. 30, 1788.

³⁴ *The Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, Oct. 21, 1788.

³⁵ [Annapolis] *The Maryland Gazette*, Jan. 1, 1789.

³⁶ Maryland's national Senators were chosen by a joint ballot of the General Assembly. Maryland, *Laws of Maryland*, 1788, Ch. XLIV. Veteran politicians and eminent Federalists John Henry and Charles Carroll of Carrollton were chosen to represent the Eastern and Western shores.

more papers and busily distributed on single flyers throughout the counties. The Free State voter reading the *Federalist* and Anti-Federalist tickets listed in the *Maryland Gazette*, December 30, might have been understandably confused. For Congress, the parties suggested the following:

Federalist:

1st Michael Jenifer Stone
 2nd *Joshua Seney*
 3rd Benjamin Contee
 4th William Smith
 5th George Gale
 6th Daniel Carroll

Anti-Federalist:

George Dent
Joshua Seney
 John Francis Mercer
 Samuel Sterett
 William Vans Murray
 Abraham Few

For Presidential electors the parties recommended:

Federalist:

Western Shore
 George Plater
 John Rogers
 Alexander Contee Hanson
 Dr. Philip Thomas
 Robert Smith

Eastern Shore
William Tilghman
 Col. William Richardson
 Dr. William Matthews

Anti-Federalist:

Western Shore
 George Thomas
 Moses Rawlins
 Laurence Oneale
 J. T. Chase
 Charles Ridgely of William

Eastern Shore
William Tilghman
 James Shaw
 John Seney³⁷

Joshua Seney was the listed choice of both parties in the second Congressional district, while William Tilghman had double backing for Eastern Shore Elector. Compounding the confusion were individual broadsides, backing tickets of "Friends to Amendments" and "No Party." Both were obviously Anti-Federalist, yet both differed in their listing of candidates according to districts.³⁸ Cautioning the voter, the Federalists explained that the Antis were once more indulging

³⁷ Maryland's Congressional districts included: 1) St. Mary's, Charles, Calvert; 2) Kent, Talbot, Queen Anne; 3) Anne Arundel and Prince Georges; 4) Harford, Baltimore City and County; 5) Somerset, Dorchester, Worcester, Caroline; 6) Frederick, Montgomery, Washington. See Matthew P. Andrews, *Tercentenary History of Maryland* (Chicago, 1925), p. 653.

³⁸ "Friends to Amendments," "No Party," tickets in the broadside collection, MHS.

their penchant for obscuring the real issues by putting Federalists on their tickets.³⁹

Besides these disruptive attempts by the opposition, the Federalists faced some internal objections to their drive for party solidarity. Nathaniel Ramsay, early Federalist choice for the Second District, complained that his name had been struck off the ticket to make room for Joshua Seney. Writing to Baltimore General Otho H. Williams, apparently a father confessor to several lesser lights of the party, Ramsay sought advice. His friends were still prepared to back him, yet he hesitated to run after the Federalist leaders in the General Assembly who had rejected his name in formulating the party ticket. The erstwhile candidate admitted that he was not well-known throughout the State and that a wounded leg would prohibit any extensive campaigning. Still, Ramsey's friends encouraged him to run. The harrassed politician assured Williams that he would bow to any advice from the party elder.⁴⁰ The answer is not recorded, but Seney remained on the ticket.

Party spirit and tactics elicited a more public correspondence from Samuel Sterett, Anti-Federalist candidate for Baltimore's Fourth District. Addressing a broadside simply "To the Public," Sterett complained of "mean and illiberal" attacks on his reputation. The Federalists, he asserted, talked of plots and tricks "until their own affrighted imaginations have realized the phantom." Heatedly, Sterett protested his innocence of any planned subversion, insisting that he had no party views to promote, no resentments to satisfy, no hungry dependents to support.⁴¹

Federalist writer "Tom Plain Truth," however, in an answering broadside, listed Sterett with the "black list men," those who would be compelled under the constitutional arrangement to pay British debts. Sterett's father owed £6,937 sterling which had been paid with £48 paper money. Still, Sterett had boasted that if elected he would have no temptations to deviate from strict propriety and justice. Was not £6,937 a temptation, sneered "Tom Plain Truth"? Look at Sterett's supporters, he

³⁹ *The Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, Dec. 30, 1788.

⁴⁰ Nathaniel Ramsay to Otho H. Williams, Dec. 29, 1788, Otho H. Williams MSS, Vol. IV, Md. Hist. Soc.

⁴¹ Samuel Sterett, "To the Public," 1788, broadside collection, Md. Hist. Soc.

urged. They included Baltimore County politician Charles Ridgely of William, who had paid a £3,273 debt with £23 paper money. If, the Federalist critic summarized, "you are disposed to have yourselves taxed to pay their debts, *send them*—if you think they ought to pay their debts, send others."⁴²

Early Federalist prognostications of the outcome of the contest indicated that the electorate would indeed "send others." A Western Maryland Federalist assured Otho H. Williams that a large majority would vote the party ticket. Every step had been taken to counteract the "Dark and Villanous Designs of the Antis." One Baltimore Anti-Federalist, trying to woo the German voters in Betztown, had been hustled out of the area under threat of a coat of tar and feathers.⁴³ Though he and his fellows obviously had had time to do little damage, Federalist county leaders sent out fifteen runners on election eve to bring in the party vote. The final tallies in Washington County indicated the thoroughness of the party canvass. 1,167 Federalist votes were cast against none for the Antis.

Throughout the Free State, as a result of concerted party efforts, the Federalist Congressional and electoral tickets swept in. The largest majorities were registered in Talbot, Cecil, Dorchester, Somerset, Caroline, Frederick, Montgomery, and Washington counties.⁴⁴ All were along highways of commerce, the Shenandoah valley, the Potomac and the Chesapeake areas. In this the Maryland Federalist pattern of victory followed a national trend, piling up the strongest majorities in regions committed to commerce and export.⁴⁵ In balloting for President and vice-president, Maryland's eight electors also followed the national pattern. Eight votes were cast for George Washington and eight reserved for a favorite son, Chief Justice Robert Hanson Harrison.⁴⁶

⁴² "Tom Plain Truth," "To the Freemen of Baltimore-Town and the Fourth District," Jan. 6, 1789, broadside collection, MHS.

⁴³ R. Pindell to Otho H. Williams, Jan. 6, 1789, Otho H. Williams MSS, Vol. V, Md. Hist. Soc.

⁴⁴ *The Maryland Gazette; or the Baltimore Advertiser*, Jan. 16, 1789 and [Annapolis] *The Maryland Gazette*, Jan. 22, 1789.

⁴⁵ Orin G. Libby, *The Geographical Distribution of the Vote of the Thirteen States on the Federal Constitution, 1787-88* (Madison, 1894), p. 49.

⁴⁶ Certificate of the votes of the Maryland electors, 1789, Executive Papers, Box I, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

As the Federalists convincingly won their first national tests, factions had developed and taken on the outlines and trappings of political parties. Successfully inaugurated was the state-wide party ticket. The worth of the town meeting and local political rally and the value of a good stable of touring stump speakers were recognized and utilized by both groups. The press served as an effective propaganda medium. Both factions plied the voter with persuasive cups of gin and grog. Both discovered the effectiveness of economic and even physical coercion. The Federalists in their efforts to unite the party had begun to develop a network of correspondence linking county leaders with the party elders.

All of these devices, however, were merely political externals, the symptoms of party. Still lacking were key components of a functioning political party: a nationally integrated leadership and a number of timely, vital issues. The Federalists would develop both in the first Washington administration.

THE RECTORY OF ST. PAUL'S PARISH, BALTIMORE: AN ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY

By HOWARD E. WOODEN *

SHORTLY after the completion of a new church building for St. Paul's Parish in May, 1784, arrangements were initiated for the construction of a new Rectory.¹ In the following year, 1785, Col. John Eager Howard conveyed to the vestry one-half acre and twenty-eight square perches of land on the north side of Northwest (now Saratoga) Street at the head of Liberty Street to be used for the site of the new Rectory.² This plot was a portion of what was then called Lun's Lot. By 1789, actual building operations had begun, with funds procured through subscriptions and a lottery held during the preceding

* The author wishes to express his sincere appreciation to the Reverend Frederick Ward Kates, Rector of St. Paul's Church, 1956-1961, and the Right Reverend Harry Lee Doll and Mrs. Doll for their valuable assistance and cooperation. As the occupants of the Rectory at the time when much of this study was carried-on, Dr. and Mrs. Doll were doubtless many times inconvenienced but very graciously threw open the house so that the author might freely explore, photograph, measure and draw.

¹ The parish of Saint Paul's had its origin in 1692 when, by act of the General Assembly of Maryland, it became one of the three Anglican parishes incorporated in Baltimore County. The first church was constructed between 1693 and 1700 and was located on Patapsco Neck. A second church building, erected between 1731 and 1739, was located within the square bounded by what are now Charles, Saratoga, St. Paul and Lexington Streets. About 1779, the Vestry decided to build a new church which was begun in 1780 and finished in May, 1784. This church was located within the same block as had been the second church, though somewhat nearer to Lexington Street. It remained the church of the Parish until 1817 when a fourth church, designed by Robert Carey Long, Jr., was erected on the site of the present church at Charles and Saratoga Streets. The present edifice was designed by Richard Upjohn and was finished in 1856, replacing the earlier one which had been destroyed by fire in 1854.

² *Laws of Maryland*, 1785, ch. XL, November session. The act was passed on March 2nd and reads: "A Bill, entitled, An Act to enable John Eager Howard of Baltimore County, to convey to the Vestry of Saint Paul's Parish, and their successors, a parcel of ground adjoining Baltimore-town, for the purpose therein mentioned."



FIG. 1. VIEW OF ST. PAUL'S RECTORY, 1959.

year.³ By 1790 the main house or parsonage proper was completed. However because of insufficiency of funds a second subscription was called for the completion of certain attached buildings.⁴ Moreover, additional land was required for that purpose and a second grant was made available through the

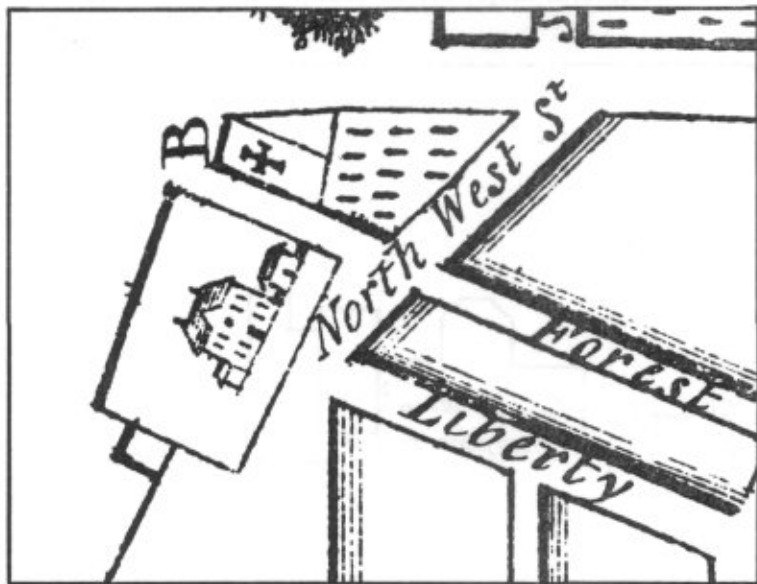


FIG. 2. 1801 ATLAS.

generosity again of Col. Howard. The project was completed by March, 1791, and ready for occupancy shortly thereafter.⁵

Stylistically, the Rectory (fig. 1) possesses to a noteworthy degree the charm and quiet dignity exhibited by many of the Georgian Mansions of the period. Its importance for architectural study however lies in the fact that it embodies a well-

³ The lottery was ordered on April 14, 1788. See Ethan Allen, *Historical Sketches of St. Paul's Parish in Baltimore County, Maryland*, in possession of St. Paul's Parish. Photostatic copies in Md. Hist. Soc., p. 129. Three thousand lottery tickets at \$2.00 each were sold. Since the prizes amounted to \$4,000, a sum of \$2,000 remained for the total cost of the construction expenses.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 133; and *Laws of Maryland*, 1790, ch. IV, November session. For a discussion of this phase of the building activity, see below.

⁵ See Ethan Allen, *loc. cit.*, pp. 141-142. The original rectory which had been used until 1791 was located on the north west corner of Charles and Lexington Streets where the Fidelity Building now stands.

selected blend of traditional style with certain Republican forms which were gaining increasing usage during the socio-cultural transition immediately following the Revolution.

Although much of the original structure as completed in 1791 has remained intact, a careful examination of the building reveals that several major architectural alterations were carried

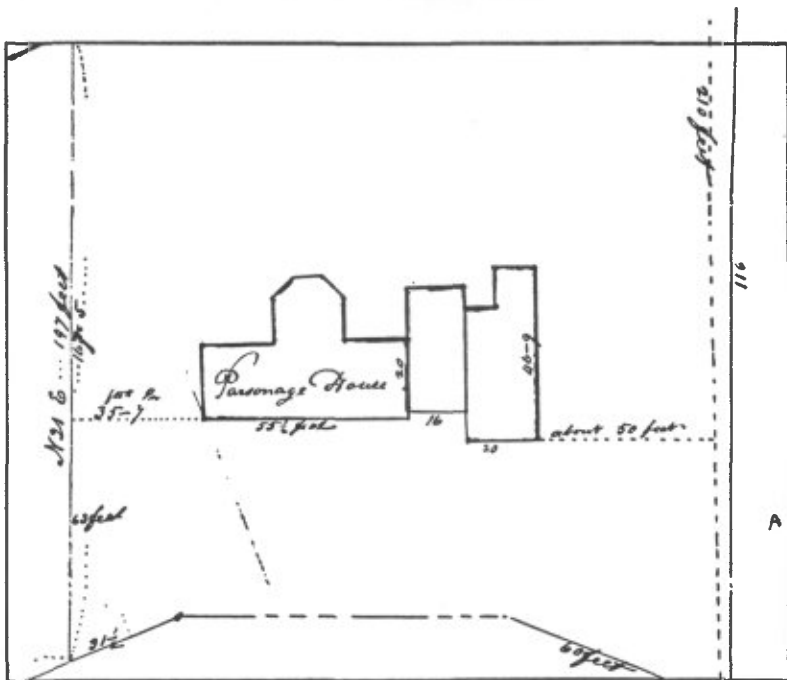


FIG. 3. PLAT OF 1827.

Courtesy, Bureau of Building Construction, Baltimore.

out at various later periods. In addition to internal evidence, however, numerous documentary sources enable us to recover the initial character of the Rectory as well as to gain further insight into the various structural changes which it has undergone. The principal original sources which have been explored and from which the conclusions of this study are drawn include: First, *An Atlas of Baltimore Town from the year 1801*,⁹ (fig. 2):

⁹ Warner and Hanna's *Plan of the City and Environs of Baltimore, 1801*. Collection of the Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore.

second, an oil painting executed in 1801 by Thomas Ruckle which shows the Rectory⁷ (see cover); third, an 1827 plat of the site,⁸ (fig. 3); fourth, an 1833 plat of the site,⁹ (fig. 4); fifth, fire insurance policies issued in the years 1829, 1836, and 1871, bearing brief descriptions of the building for each of the respective years;¹⁰ sixth, an 1873 drawing signed by the then city surveyor, Simon Martinet, which shows the floor plan both of the buildings and of the site;¹¹ seventh, the unpublished manuscript of the Rev. Ethan Allen, entitled *Historical Sketches of St. Paul's Parish*, and written about 1855;¹² and finally, eighth, miscellaneous documents, including land records, early newspapers, church publications, and the like. In the discussion which follows, the architectural evolution of the Rectory will be traced, and its more significant aspects will be examined.

⁷ The painting is now in the possession of St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, and shows both the Rectory of St. Paul's as well as St. Peter's Catholic Church which stood somewhat northeast of the Rectory. Some years ago a lithograph copy of this painting was published by Bendann Art Galleries in Baltimore with the following descriptive title: *Saint Peter's the First Catholic Church Structure erected in Baltimore Town about 1770. After 1798, the "Paltry" Pro-Cathedral of Right Reverend John Carroll, D.D., First Bishop and Archbishop of the United States.* For the remainder of this paper, this painting will be referred to as the Ruckle Painting.

⁸ This plat dates May 5, 1827 and is signed "John Eager Howard to the Vestry of St. Paul's Church." It seems likely that it was drawn at a time when consideration was being given to the sale of ground to the east of the Rectory. See below. The plat was formerly a part of the records of Augustus Bouldin & Co. of Baltimore and is now housed in the Bureau of Building Construction, Municipal Building, Baltimore.

⁹ The 1833 plat is labelled "Plat of the Vestry—St. Paul's Church—Ground and J. B. Morris attached thereto," and provides a duplicate of the floor plan of the Rectory which appears on the 1827 plat. It was apparently prepared in connection with negotiations for the sale of ground to J. B. Morris who owned the property immediately adjacent to and west of the Rectory lot. See below. Like the 1827 plat, this plat was also originally among the records of Augustus Bouldin & Co. and is now housed in the Bureau of Building Construction in Baltimore.

¹⁰ These policies were issued by the Baltimore Equitable Society. The first policy was written on March 11, 1829. Thereafter the policy was re-written each seven years until March 14, 1871, when it was issued on the perpetual basis and is still in force.

¹¹ This drawing is now in the possession of the Vestry of St. Paul's Church and is signed "Simon G. Martinet, City Surveyor, 1873." For the remainder of this paper this sketch will be referred to as the Martinet Sketch.

¹² The manuscript is housed in the Maryland Historical Society. The Vestry Records go back no further than to the year 1876. Original copies of records of all proceedings prior to 1854 were allegedly destroyed when the Church was burned in that year. The *Historical Sketches* of Ethan Allen, finished in 1855, were based on the earlier Vestry Records, however, and therefore serve as monumental and invaluable source material.

Based on the sources listed above, three distinct phases of building activity may be identified: Period I the initial construction period between 1789 and 1791; Period II between 1827 and 1836 which saw an extensive building expansion program; and Period III between 1836 and 1906 which was climaxed by the final major structural addition to the building.

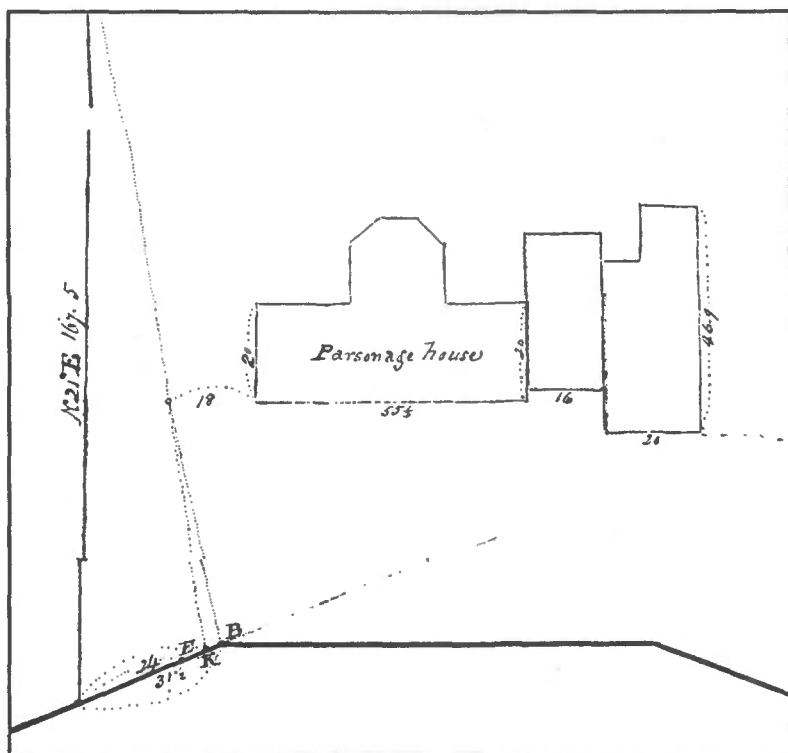


FIG. 4. PLAT OF 1833.

Courtesy, Bureau of Building Construction.

PERIOD I: 1789-1791

In its original state the Rectory, as shown in figure 5, consisted of four principal architectural units, viz., the parsonage house proper (building P); a two-storey east pavillion (building B) which served possibly as a bath house and/or as servant quarters; a small but deep center structure (building E), one-

storey high, which connected the other two main units and which was perhaps used as a kitchen or pantry for the residence; and a west annex (building A) which doubtless served as an office for the Rector. Buildings P and E are still well preserved, although now somewhat modified. Building A seems to have been demolished rather early in the 19th century and replaced by the present west annex between 1833 and 1836.¹³ The land on which building B stood was sold in 1829 and it is probable that the building was demolished about that time.¹⁴

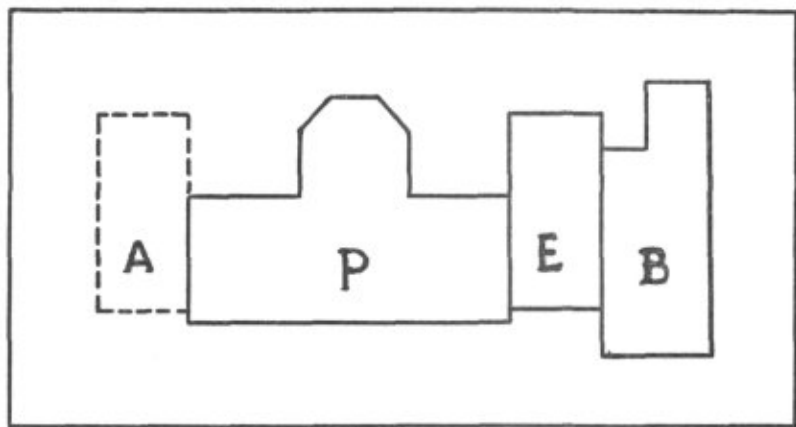


FIG. 5. PLAN OF RECTORY AS ORIGINALLY COMPLETED IN 1791.

The Rectory was situated on a hill which, at the time of construction, lay just beyond the northern edge of the growing 18th century town. As was so often the case of other Southern Colonial mansions of the period, much thought during the planning was doubtless concentrated on the emplacement of the structure. What appears to have been considered the most propitious position for the building was one which aligned the axis of the main house with the exact center of the broad and sweeping street which the house was to overlook, i. e., Liberty Street, as shown on the 1801 *Atlas* (fig. 2). At any rate, it was this position which was finally selected and which at the time must have afforded an exciting panorama of the town and harbor and, by the same token, an unobstructed view of the building itself from below.

¹³ See below.

¹⁴ See below.

It would seem that this choice was to have a controlling impact on the final plans which were to evolve, for in meeting this requirement, it was obviously necessary for the main house to be constructed but a few feet from the original west boundary line of the property conveyed in 1785, and the certainty that any future westward extension of the building would thereby be blocked seems to have been of little concern and was apparently altogether ignored, at least at the moment when construction began. Yet even before the project was completed, the Vestry in 1790 requested additional land on the west in order that offices might be built. Ample space for such a building was already available behind the parsonage, and the fact that preference was instead shown for a location on the west of the main house raises the possibility that the builders may certainly have intended the eventual completion of a symmetrical Palladian Country-house design.¹⁵

A study of the form which the original complex took further supports this assumption. The 1801 *Atlas* (fig. 2), the Ruckle Painting (cover) and the plat of 1827 (fig. 3) together demonstrate how the Palladian principle was originally fulfilled on the east of the parsonage house by means of a two-storey dependency and a deep single-storey structure connecting the two. The depth of the connecting unit, extreme in comparison with the proportions of the other two structures, would admittedly be somewhat of an unusual feature in Palladian design. Yet the composition as a whole indeed suggests the prevailing late 18th century conception of the Palladian Country-house type as expressed by the linear organization of the three units and by the fact that the frontal plane of the small hyphen receded from the facade of the main house while that of the taller end dependency rather characteristically projected.¹⁶

¹⁵ That is, one in which the formal massing arrangement consisted of a relationship between five structural units: a central main house with two dependencies, one on either side, connected to the central unit by means of narrow and low hyphen-like pavillions, the whole complex symmetrically integrated along a linear axis. Well-known Maryland examples of this arrangement are to be found throughout the period and include among others the celebrated "Hammond-Harwood House," 1779-1774, in Annapolis; "Hampton House," 1783-1790, near Towson; and "Homewood," 1801-1805, in Baltimore.

¹⁶ According to the scale of the 1827 plat, the east dependency must have projected about eight to nine feet beyond the facade of the main house, and the connecting unit which is still standing recedes 11½ inches.

Returning now to the west side of the Rectory, we shall recall that a small west annex was standing by 1801 according to the *Atlas* published in that year (fig. 2). We are justified in assuming that this structure was contemporary with the other original buildings although, since it is not shown on the 1827 plat, it seems to have been demolished at a comparatively early date. For in 1790, as indicated above, additional lands on the west of the then finished parsonage house were conveyed, according to the Laws of Maryland, in order that offices might be completed.¹⁷ Certainly construction of the annex must have been undertaken immediately and completed by 1791, for in that year, soon after the death of the Rector, the Vestry resolved that an advertisement for a successor be published which would read: "There is (now finished) a commodius house, with every other necessary building, and garden, for the accommodation of a minister. . . ." ¹⁸ The problem is therefore further compounded, and the complex shown on the 1801 *Atlas* must then be taken as an elevation of the Rectory as it appeared in what at least had by then come to be accepted as its finished state. This indicates conclusively that the west office arrangement, consisting frontally of a single unit only, did not balance the several eastern buildings. There is no evidence to document further construction. Indeed, any expectation of ever achieving complete symmetrical balance of five members must have been abandoned early inasmuch as, even with the additional land

¹⁷ See *Laws of Maryland*, 1790, ch. IV, November session. The Act, in part, reads: ". . . Whereas the Vestry of Saint Paul's Parish, in Baltimore County, by the humble petition to this general assembly have set forth, that they have built a parsonage house on a lot of ground in Baltimore-town, for the use and residence of the minister of the said parish for the time being, and are carrying on the building of the offices belonging to same; and that in order to complete the said building it will be necessary to have an addition of a piece of ground adjoining the said lot of ground, beginning at the north west corner of Liberty and Saratoga Streets, thence extending along Saratoga Street thirty-one feet six inches, thence northeast two hundred and two feet, thence east-south-east thirty feet to the above mentioned lot of ground, thence by the line of said lot of ground, and in a direct line beyond the same, to the place of beginning; . . ." The use of the plural term, "offices," in this reference would lead us to conclude that at least two buildings were at this time intended on the west side. However, the 1801 *Atlas*, shows but one although it is possible that a second building was constructed but so situated as not to be visible in the view given by the *Atlas*.

¹⁸ Although this tells us but little, it is actually the earliest known description of the finished building and was apparently derived originally from the Vestry minutes of April 4, 1791. Cf. J. S. B. Hodges, S. T. D., *The Future of S. Paul's Parish* (Baltimore, 1878), p. 10.

bequest, the space available on the west was too narrow to accommodate such secondary units of the size already complete on the east.¹⁹

It is clear then that the history of the west side of the Rectory, in terms of what took place and why, is rather a matter of conjecture, although there is some little evidence as reviewed above to suggest that a balance in massing might have been desired, even if the idea occurred possibly as an after thought on the part of the original designers. Only partial fulfillment of this was achieved and that, as we shall see, not before the mid-1830's during the second major period of construction.

An unusual architectural aspect of the rectory in its original form is found in the plan of the parsonage house itself. The house was built on the inverted T-plan with but two rooms on each floor and a deep central hall, divided interiorly by a large transverse arch and terminating in an octagonal bay which functioned as a stair tower (figs. 6 & 7). Although its significance has heretofore remained largely unnoticed, the stair tower is actually one of the most distinctive architectural elements of the Rectory, for in essence the plan demonstrates a continuation of the early Southern fondness for this feature as established in such early works of the 17th century as Bacon's Castle (Surrey County, Virginia) and Clover Field (Queen Anne County, Maryland). It is interesting to note furthermore that with its projecting octagonal bay, the floor plan strongly suggests the orientation found in Jefferson's 1772 plan of Monticello.²⁰ The octagonal bay of course came to be a favorite

¹⁹ It is interesting to note that the strip of land on the west was too narrow by only five inches. There is of course the possibility that the Vestry, for financial reasons and in anticipation of a time when they might acquire still another land grant on the west, decided to defer plans of a more permanent and elaborate nature and settled on a single temporary structure. We know that a financial problem was being faced at this time, for according to the manuscript of Ethan Allen (*loc. cit.*, p. 133), insufficiency of funds necessitated calling a second subscription for the completion of the offices. The possibility that the original west annex was merely a temporary substitute—acceptable only in order that the project could be brought within the limited financial means then available—might account for its having been eliminated from the Ruckle painting of 1801, although it apparently was standing at that time, and in addition would suggest an explanation of why the building was no longer standing as early as 1827, according to the plat of that year.

²⁰ See Fiske Kimball, *Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies and of the Early Republic* (New York, 1922), figure 52.



FIG. 6. REAR VIEW, SHOWING OCTAGON, PORCH, AND
NORTH EXTENSION OF 1827-29.



FIG. 7. CENTRAL HALLWAY SHOWING ELLIPTICAL ARCHWAY
AND STAIRCASE IN OCTAGONAL BAY.

domestic architectural form of the early Republic and is found in numerous other Maryland homes of about the same vintage as the Rectory, e. g., the Murray House, "Acton," in Annapolis.²¹

PERIOD II: 1827-1836

The plan of the Rectory underwent extensive changes during the period between 1827 and 1836. The Rev. Dr. William E. Wyatt became Rector in 1827, and the fact that his family was eminently larger than that of his predecessors may well have been responsible for the undertaking of an expansion program about this time.²²

In 1827, according to the plat of that year, the Rectory remained unchanged from its original plan with the exception of the original west annex (Building A) which apparently had been removed though not yet replaced by a new structure, as we have seen. It was at this time, however, that steps were being taken which eventually led to the sale in 1829 of much of the property east of the Rectory including that occupied by building B, the dependency located at the extreme east.²³

²¹ See Lewis A. Coffin and A. C. Holden, *Brick Architecture of the Colonial Period in Maryland and Virginia* (New York, 1919), p. 12 and plate 20.

²² The Rev. Dr. Wyatt served as Rector from 1827 to 1864. He was married in 1812 and had a family consisting of 11 children, though some of these were born after he became rector. Cf. Frederick Ward Kates, *Bridge Across Four Centuries—The Clergy of St. Paul's Parish* (Baltimore, 1957), p. 28.

²³ The plat of 1827 is dated May 5, 1827, and seems to have been prepared in connection with ground sale negotiations which were in progress at this time. On May 14, 1827, consent was granted to the Vestry by John Eager Howard (Baltimore County Land Records, Liber WG, No. 197, folio 342) for the sale of such properties as were in excess of that required for the parsonage. Authorization of this agreement was obtained by act of the General Assembly of Maryland in December, 1828. In 1829, the Vestry deeded to Richard Dorsey, a Baltimore merchant, the land east of the Rectory which included the site of Building B. The deed, dated March 4, 1829 (liber WG 197 folio 357), defined the western limits of the property sold to Dorsey as extending "... to a line drawn north easterly from Saratoga Street parallel to the aforesaid north northeast line of Lun's lot and distant sixteen feet nine inches easterly from the East gable end wall of the parsonage or main building situated on the adjoining ground belonging to the said Vestry." There is no mention in this deed that a building was then standing on the property, a fact which nevertheless may in no way be construed as conclusive proof that Building B had been razed by 1829. However, shortly thereafter, Dorsey must have had a home constructed on this site for by 1831 he is listed in *Matchett's Baltimore Director* as residing on Saratoga opposite Liberty Street. Building B then must certainly have been razed before 1831.

The Dorsey home, a Greek-revival town mansion, became a landmark to later Baltimoreans. Dorsey died in 1850; the last listing for him was in the 1849-50 edition of *Matchett's*. After Dorsey's death, this structure came into the

Meanwhile, however, between 1827 and 1829, extensive improvements seem to have been projected including the construction of a two-storey addition, extending northward from behind the east room of the main parsonage, which thus provided one additional room on each storey, and a second storey to the small east wing, *i. e.*, building E. A fire insurance policy issued in March, 1829, documents, by measurement and description, the existence of the north extension as well as of the east wing second storey. The brick work of the two match closely, suggesting that they were contemporary.²⁴ Since the north extension does not appear on the 1827 plat, it and therefore the second storey of the east wing would thus seem to have been constructed between 1827 and 1829.

1836 can be taken as the *terminus ad quem* for the present two-storey west annex as well as for the balcony to the rear of the main building, west of the octagonal bay, for reference is first made to both of these units in a second insurance policy written in March, 1836.²⁵ Additional evidence is available which makes it possible to narrow-down considerably the date for the erection of the west annex. However, the fact that the west annex is not shown on the plat of 1833 cannot in itself be taken as conclusive evidence that it was not yet built. For it is

possession of Johns Hopkins when on July 16, 1851, Mrs. Elizabeth Dorsey, widow of Richard Dorsey, sold the entire premises to Hopkins for \$50,000 (Deed: Liber AWB 463 folio 297). The Dorsey home, thereafter known as the Hopkins Town House, on the death of Johns Hopkins in 1873, passed to the Johns Hopkins Hospital and in 1891 was sold to the Royal Arcanum Club (Deed: Liber JB 1368 folio 92). In 1933 it was demolished and the site has since been occupied by a parking garage.

²⁴ This is the earliest known and perhaps the first policy written on the property. It was issued as Policy No. 10220 by the Baltimore Equitable Society for \$4,000, on March 11, 1829. The property covered by the policy is described as "... a two story brick Parsonage house ... situate on the north side of Saratoga street at the north end of Liberty street measuring as follows, fifty-five feet front, twenty feet at west and forty-seven feet at east end, has brick Octagon to the north part forty-four feet round, in which is a stairway. Also two storey brick building at the east end of the main house, eighteen feet by thirty-three feet. Both plain finished having barge boards."

²⁵ The policy, No. 14054, was re-issued by the Baltimore Equitable Society on March 15, 1836 and written for \$4,400. The property described is a "... two storey brick Parsonage dwelling house ... measuring as follows, fifty-five feet front, twenty feet at west end, with Balcony by the back part, and forty-seven feet at east end, has a brick octagon to the north part forty-four feet round, in which is a Stairway. Also, two storey brick building at the east end of the main house eighteen feet by thirty-three feet. Two Storey brick building at west end of the main building twelve feet by sixteen feet. The whole plain finished, having barge boards."

clear that the floor plan shown on the 1833 plat is entirely inaccurate—possibly an old drawing made some years earlier—inasmuch as it shows the original east dependency (Building B) which had been demolished by about 1829 when the east property was sold, and it fails to include the north extension of the east side of the parsonage proper which we know was completed at least by 1829. However, in 1833, the Vestry of St. Paul's agreed to sell to one John B. Morris, Esq., a narrow strip of property to the west side of the Rectory. A letter dated May 16, 1833, addressed to Mr. Morris,²⁶ announces the authorization for the sale and defines the east line of the saleable property as 18 feet from the southwest corner of the parsonage or main house. This is indicated on the 1833 plat (fig. 4). Had the present brick west annex been standing at that time, it seems entirely reasonable to assume that it, rather than the parsonage, would have been the reference point in this description. Hence it may be concluded that the west annex was not yet in existence and that it must have therefore been constructed between May, 1833, the time of the sale, and March, 1836, the date of the issuance of the second fire insurance policy.²⁷

A noteworthy stylistic aspect of the west annex is the interest shown in increased lighting achieved through the use of the tripartite window plan. This is a popular Greek Revival feature of the 1830's which no doubt lent itself well to the functional office purposes for which this small structure was

²⁶ Records of Augustus Bouldin, Bureau of Building Construction, Baltimore (block 580).

²⁷ It must be noted that in comparing the actual measurements (12' x 12') of the west annex with those reported (12' x 16') in the fire insurance policy of 1836, a definite discrepancy appears which would at first suggest that the present west annex is not the same as the one built between 1833 and 1836. It seems more probable however that an error was made in recording the measurements in the policy since even the policy currently in effect (Baltimore Equitable Society, perpetual policy No. 41117, issued March 14, 1871) contains the same erroneous measurements. We know, from the Martinet sketch, that the present west annex was standing in 1873 and it seems unlikely that a replacement would have been necessary in so relatively short a span of time. Furthermore, the brickwork and other details of the present west annex correspond closely to those found in the other additions of the period; e.g., the window heads of the three additions are almost identical and contrast sharply with those of the original structures; the window sills of the several additions are all of the same size and are made of wood while in the original building, all sills are of stone. Finally, the stylistic evidence in the use of tripartite windows in the facade of the west annex would point to the 1830's as a probable construction date.

designed. Originally, there was no entrance to the office directly from the outside. In 1942, however, a doorway was cut through the central section of the first storey window, converting the arrangement into a doorway with sidelights.

With the completion of the west annex, the building activity of the second period came to a close. By this time the Rectory had assumed essentially its present appearance and for the first time something approaching a symmetrical balance of three members might be said to have been attained.²⁸

PERIOD III: 1836-1906

There is no evidence that any major structural work was carried out for many years after 1836. Undoubtedly, repairs and interior renovations did occur from time to time but few records are available to document the time or extent of any such work.²⁹

It was probably in the early 1870's that the site was enclosed on the front and west side by a heavy ashlar retaining wall, about five feet in height, which is still standing. At the same time, the double stone stairway from the street level consisting of 13 steps, each averaging eight inches in height, was added, and the brick paths along the main approach from the sidewalk and around the house were first laid. These features, incident-

²⁸ This, of course, was merely an incomplete approach to balance, for the symmetrical effect was offset aesthetically by several important elements. For example, the west annex was both narrower and stylistically later than was the east annex. In addition, the Dorsey-Hopkins Town House, a splendid Greek Revival mansion of the early 1830's, stood immediately to the east of the Rectory complex, in the approximate position of Building B (Fig. 5), the original service building of the Rectory, thus further detracting from the total effect of symmetry. See above, note 23.

²⁹ A listing in the *Baltimore Sun* (Tuesday, July 29, 1873, p. 1. The fire brought almost complete destruction to that area lying immediately southwest of the Rectory and bounded by Howard, Saratoga, Liberty and Lexington Streets) of the buildings burned in the 1873 fire indicates that the parsonage was "slightly damaged." The claim for \$188.78 was settled on September 6, 1873, and the insert on the fire insurance policy (No. 41117, issued March 14, 1871, by the Baltimore Equitable Society) states that "the roof of the Parsonage . . . was on fire several times although of tin." The Vestry records for the period after 1878 indicate that numerous interior repairs had been made from time to time. Apparently these were extensive, for in a report of some of the work directed by the Church in the period from 1871-1906, the Rev. Dr. J. S. B. Hodges stated that "During these years the Rectory was at a considerable expense, modernized and repaired" at a total cost for the period amounting to \$2,700.00. Cf. J. S. B. Hodges, *Some of the Work of St. Paul's Church during a Rectorship of thirty-five years, 1871-1905* (Baltimore, 1907), pp. 6-7, 11.

ally, are shown on the Martinet sketch of 1873 and therefore must have been completed by that time.

The final structural addition to the Rectory came in 1906, just prior to the occupancy by a new Rector, at which time a

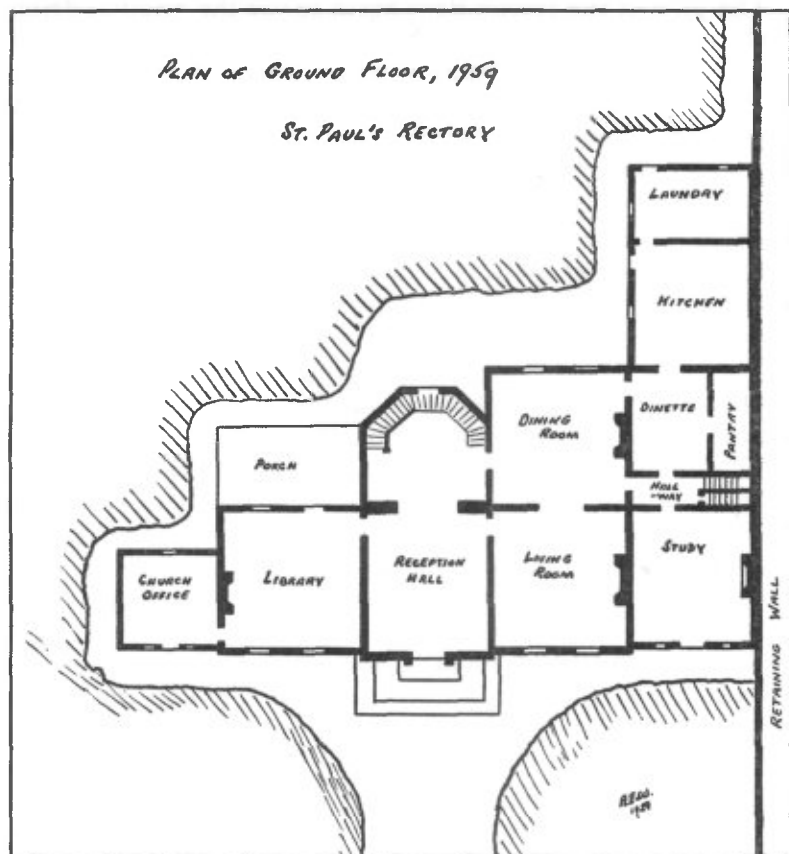


FIG. 8. GROUND FLOOR, 1959.

large kitchen and laundry were built immediately behind the original east wing (fig. 8), a steam heating system installed and the interior remodelled.³⁰ No further structural work was carried out until 1942 when the doorway of the west wing was cut into the exterior wall, as noted earlier.

³⁰ Cf. *The Sun*, October 21, 1906, Baltimore, Maryland.

Figure 8 shows the floor plan of the first storey of the rectory in 1959 when it was still in use as the dwelling for the Rector. The original design can readily be discerned from the various additions of later years.

The plan of the second floor again shows the original design of the main house as well as the additions of 1827-1836 including the west wing, the play room of the east wing and the bedroom of the north extension. The plan of the original room east of the central hall reveals early alterations with the introduction of a narrow east-west hallway.³¹

The attic, originally unfinished, has been divided into a series of rooms by light partitions which are believed to date from the early 20th century. An interesting feature of the attic is the narrow room of wooden construction which is situated at the extreme northwest corner of the plan and which overhangs the first and second storey rear porches below.

The cellar includes a large room east of the octagonal bay, comparable in position to the first floor dining room of the north extension which as we have seen dates between 1827 and 1829. Structural details of this cellar room are identical with those of the remainder of the cellar plan and suggest that the room was definitely a part of the original construction, even though the same scheme was not duplicated in the stories above until later. A long narrow arched tunnel leads from the street level to the east front room of the cellar and was no doubt designed originally as a route for the delivery of fuel and household supplies into the house.

Stylistically, the building is conservative and belongs to the end of the late Georgian period, yet Early Republican characteristics are to be noted in the slender proportions of the mouldings and the strong emphasis on the central section of the facade (fig. 1). Particularly interesting is the brickwork which readily exhibits the careful and precise craftsmanship found in much colonial construction in Maryland and vicinity. The pink bricks are smooth in texture and are laid in Flemish

³¹ This original room on the east is noteworthy in that it was here in 1808 that the House of Bishops met. Cf. Arthur B. Kinsolving, *A Short History of Saint Paul's Parish* (Baltimore, 1939 privately printed), p. 22.



FIG. 9. CENTRAL DOORWAY, 1959.



FIG. 10. PALLADIAN WINDOW, 1959.

bond with joints struck evenly and averaging less than $5/16$ of an inch in thickness.³²

Flat arch window-heads are used throughout and, except for those of white stone over the cellar along the facade, are constructed of rubbed and closely fitted pink brick more delicate in tone than the brick used elsewhere in the building. Thus, quite characteristic of the Georgian tradition in the South, the window-heads serve both to accent the windows as well as to furnish a refreshing color contrast over the surface of the building. A brick water table runs across the original structures, forty inches above ground level on the main building and thirty inches on the easy wing, but is altogether absent from the several later additions. Separating the first storey from the second is a narrow string course, eight inches wide, running across the front of the main house. The face of the central portion of the main building projects $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches beyond the adjacent faces while the east and west wings recede $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches from the facade of the parsonage proper.

A point of special interest is the central doorway (fig. 9) which, with the handsome pseudo-classic enframement, is divided vertically into three principal zones, *viz.*, the portal proper, the rectangular transom, and the crowning triangular pediment. The entrance has a deep reveal of $18\frac{1}{2}$ inches and is flanked by panelled pilaster columns, each presenting a gentle parabolic entasis and resting on a high base 14 inches wide. The flat broad capitals above the pilasters are decorated with a lozenge design moulding which, in a single continuous band, is carried across the jambs to underscore the transom. These decorated capitals support small panelled impost blocks which flank the transom and which in turn support an elaborately carved triangular pediment with a modillion cornice.

Certainly the most unusual feature of the doorway is the appearance of the rectangular transom at this early date. Although the doorway is otherwise essentially conservative in style, it is indeed among the earliest of the oblong transom doorways which extend directly down into the Greek Revival at which time, as Howland and Spencer have already pointed out, the transom used in this manner becomes a distinguishing

³² Three distinct sizes, measuring approximately $8\frac{3}{8}'' \times 4'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$, $4\frac{1}{2}'' \times 4'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$ and $2\frac{1}{2}'' \times 4'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$, can be identified.

aspect of so many of the early 19th century town houses in and around Baltimore.³³ The same forward-looking feature, though executed in a somewhat less refined manner, is found over the door of the east wing which is contemporary with the main parsonage house. Both transoms are indicated on the Ruckle painting of 1801 (cover) and it is clear that they were originally divided into several panes by narrow vertical muntins.

Above the doorway is the very splendid Palladian window (fig. 10) trimmed with classic motifs. An unusual feature here is the projection of the semi-circular window head into the attic level. Above the Palladian window is a small circular window, 24 inches in diameter, located in the triangular gable of the attic.

Throughout the structure, window decoration is plain and without distinction. Stone window sills are found on all of the original windows while the sills of the later additions are of wood. Dormers are set in the roof, one on either side of the central gable, and one atop the east wing, probably added when the second storey of the east wing was built between 1827 and 1829. In the rear there is one dormer above the octagonal bay and two others over the later additions to the east of the bay. An end chimney with two flues rises from the west wall of the original main building while two single chimneys are found on the east end and one chimney at the east end wall of the east wing.

The west annex is of no special architectural interest. Although it now serves to balance the east wing, it is later than most of the building and, as noted earlier, reflects the Greek Revival taste in the use of the sidelight motif.

One of the most striking aspects of the interior of the Rectory is the great transverse elliptical arch (fig. 7) which divides the deep central hall into two large sections. The arch is supported by heavy buttressed foundation walls in the cellar and in turn lends structural support to the side walls of the hall. The ornamentation of the arch reflects the growing taste for simplicity which comes with Early Republican interiors. Beyond the arch is the sweeping staircase which, from the west wall, winds continuously up to the attic, always following the

³³ Richard H. Howland and Eleanor P. Spencer, *The Architecture of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1953), p. 9.

contours of the octagonal structure which surrounds it. The spindle posts are slender and are fashioned after modified doric-tuscan columns. Each rests on a high base, there being three spindles to each tread. The ends of the risers bear a simple reverse-spiral design. The bannister rail is elliptical in cross-section and terminates in a simple unpretentious newel post instead of the voluted type commonly found at this time. A dado three feet above the base level of the treads runs throughout the length of the staircase.

Eight fireplaces are contained within the house, including the one in the east room of the cellar. The mantelpieces in the parlor and library on the first floor are perhaps the finest in the house. Both have supporting columns which repeat the staircase post design. The mantles of the first and second storey rooms in the east wing probably date from the late 1820's and are especially interesting because of their severe simplicity in styling. Each consists of a shallow board, eight inches deep, supported by flat uprights and unornamented end brackets shaped as elliptical quadrants.

While on the exterior the Palladian window reflects an emphasis on classic detail and refinement, on the interior, ornament is altogether eliminated, the interest of the window resting solely on its "openness," permitting originally a complete and grand view of the Baltimore harbor and admitting an abundance of light into the second storey hall. One of the unusual features of this window is the elimination of the central semi-circle from the interior design.

In general, the interior decoration of the house is simple and unpretentious though always dignified. Such simplicity is sometimes a clear indication of the fresh interest in classic refinement which typifies the transition to Early Republican decorative styling. However, in addition, other factors may well have contributed to the modesty and simplicity to be noted in this case. Among these certainly must be considered the limited financial means available at the time of the original construction as well as the intrinsic tendency, which one might expect in a church-sponsored project of this type, to avoid excesses.

SUMMARY

Although the names of neither the designer nor the builder of the Rectory are known, it is apparent that men of unusual skill and sound training were employed, for the original building unquestionably represents excellent American craftsmanship executed with refined taste and in many respects with a good deal of imagination. At the same time, the work remains largely within the ambiguous limits of a kind of transitional formula of *Late Georgian-Early Republican* expression. For stylistically, the design of the building seems to have been conceived in terms of certain well-preserved traditional characteristics of the Late Georgian manor type and may at first have been intended as a balanced Palladian composition which, perhaps because of a preference for emplacement, never quite attained an entirely satisfactory state of fulfillment.

Although the original structure was essentially a conservative achievement, certain interior details such as are found in the repeated emphasis on semi-elliptical forms (*e. g.*, the central hallway arch, the cross-section of the bannister, *etc.*) bear witness to Early Republican tastes. Exterior ornamentation is concentrated almost entirely on the central section of the facade, the principal element there being a pedimental doorway with a rectangular transom which, at this early date, clearly represents experimentation in the use of a motif which was later to become a distinguishing feature of the portals of early 19th century Baltimore town houses. In plan, by far the most striking element is the octagonal stair tower which projects from the rear of the building at the end of the central hall.

During the period from 1829 and 1836, the building underwent extensive alterations. These included the razing of the two-storey pavilion at the far east end of the complex, the addition of a second storey to the east wing and the construction of a rear extension to the north and an office annex on the west. No particular structural or stylistic aspects of these additions, however, merit special note, except that in the program of expansion, the rectory took on a pseudo-balanced facade plan which it has retained down to the present time.

THE STATE IN THE MARYLAND ECONOMY, 1776—1807

BY MARY JANE DOWD

(Continued from June)

4

CORPORATE PRIVILEGES AND STATE PARTICIPATION

Before 1800 Maryland had incorporated six insurance companies: only Rhode Island, among the other states, had chartered as many. In 1807 there were ten such companies chartered by the Maryland General Assembly.

By the end of the eighteenth century two types of insurance business had become important in the American states. Marine insurance, which had been carried on in America by private underwriters or partnerships since the 1720's, became increasingly essential with the growth of American shipping after the Revolution. Insurance against fire usually had not been necessary in the early eighteenth century. Then, as more and more people crowded into towns, which were often composed principally of wooden buildings, state governments sought measures for protection against destruction of life and property.¹⁹⁹ This public concern probably accounts for the appearance of the corporate form of organization in the field of fire insurance before its appearance in marine insurance underwriting.

Fire insurance companies, of which Maryland had five, were chartered either as mutual or joint-stock companies. The "Baltimore Insurance Fire Company," the first in the United

¹⁹⁹ Joseph S. Davis, *Essays in the Earlier History of American Corporations* (Cambridge, Mass., 1917), II, 31; Oscar and Mary Handlin, *Commonwealth; A Study of the Role of Government in the American Economy: Massachusetts, 1774-1861* (New York, 1947), p. 137. There was little life insurance underwriting in eighteenth-century Europe or America.

States to be chartered on a joint-stock basis, was incorporated on May 21, 1787.²⁰⁰ Those desiring incorporation declared that its "Establishment . . . would greatly alleviate the distress of, & afford immediate relief to, sufferers thereby." Its capital was to be not less than £10,000 current money (\$26,666.67) in shares of £100 and the company was empowered to insure any dwelling or other building within the state or elsewhere, but it was not answerable for losses exceeding £5 of every £100 value of a building insured by them. And the company was not liable for losses exceeding its capital.²⁰¹

Arrangements regarding capital were unusual. Actually there was no paid-up capital. When £10,000 had been pledged, the subscribers were to give promissory notes in amounts of £40, 30, 20, 10 on each share, payable on demand and with appropriate security. When a fire loss was sustained by the company, the president was to call upon the stockholders, in proportion to the amount of stock they owned, for the amount necessary to cover the loss. If shareholders refused to comply within a certain specified time, their property could be attached. The company could also lend out money received as premiums.²⁰² In order to build a fund to pay losses, the company was to declare a dividend only once in five years.

On September 1 of the same year the company opened its office in Baltimore. "A Citizen" in the Baltimore *Maryland Gazette* congratulated his "fellow-citizens on the establishment of a *Fire Insurance Company*" because it would prove "highly beneficial." Furthermore he thought that the company was well-guarded against "fraudulent intentions of designing people." He also praised recent acts of the legislature which provided for the sinking of pumps in certain sections of Baltimore that had no water and another act which stipulated that every householder in the city must provide himself with two leather fire-buckets.²⁰³

Depite this auspicious beginning, four years later the stock-

²⁰⁰ Davis, II, 238.

²⁰¹ *Md. Sess.*, 1787 Apr. c. 20. The stock of the company was not liable for attachment for private debts of members and was transferable.

²⁰² *Ibid.*

²⁰³ *B. Md. Gaz.*, Aug. 24, 1787.

holders of the Baltimore Insurance Fire Company, informed the General Assembly that

the capital of the . . . company consists of notes of hand, convertible only into money in cases of loss by fire, and that in the event of failure or bankruptcy among the stockholders, the insured might become considerable sufferers: — circumstances which, by affecting the solidity of the funds, operate to destroy the public confidence in the said institution.²⁰⁴

They asked for a new act of incorporation to “obviate the inconsistencies of the old one.” The Maryland legislature granted a new charter under the name of the “Maryland Insurance Fire Company” with this corporation to have a capital of not more than \$60,000. Although the arrangements regarding stock differed from those of the old company, they still remained peculiar by today’s standards. Subscribers were to show evidence of owning \$400 in the Bank of Maryland stock or in the public debt of the United States for each share in the new company that they wished to purchase. These securities were to be written on the books of the Bank of Maryland as belonging to the Maryland Insurance Fire Company. Yet the stockholders of the Fire Company were to receive dividends upon and continue to have the other privileges of the bank and public debt shares, including that of transfer. No stock was issued by the fire insurance company; rather it was the bank stock and debt shares which constituted the capital of the company.²⁰⁵ As one contemporary letter to a newspaper noted, the objects in modifying the capital structure were to obtain a capital stock instantly convertible into specie, which at the same time, would not draw any specie out of circulation, and to obtain a capital stock of such a nature as to inspire in everyone the same confidence as specie.²⁰⁶

Provisions for making fire losses good, however, remained substantially the same as those of the old company: the president of the company was to call for a specified sum of money from each stockholder; and if it was not forthcoming, he was to sell the stock, the purchaser succeeding as stockholder. There were to be yearly dividends and triennial “exact

²⁰⁴ *Md. Sess.*, 1791 c. 69. ²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*; Davis, II, 238-39. ²⁰⁶ *Md. J.*, Mar. 20, 1792.

and particular profit and loss accounts," to the stockholders' meeting.²⁰⁷

Testifying to the concern that the legislature felt for its duty to protect citizens against fire danger in Baltimore were the other privileges and duties conferred upon the company. This insurance company was to build a magazine for storing gunpowder; thereafter anyone in Baltimore keeping over thirty pounds of gunpowder, except at the magazine, would be fined £10 and have the powder confiscated. The company was allowed to charge for storing the powder but was also responsible for the powder unless it was destroyed by "providential or unavoidable" accident. In a supplement to its charter in 1792, the company was allowed to lease the powderhouse.²⁰⁸

As a further means of minimizing the fire danger the company was to regulate all the chimney sweeps in the town by controlling the number of sweeps and establishing their wages and working rules. No person was to sweep chimneys without a license from the fire insurance company. The sweeps were also bonded to cover the penalty of £100 for a chimney which caught fire within thirty days of being swept.

By a revision of the Maryland Insurance Fire Company's charter in 1792, a company to procure a water supply system for Baltimore was incorporated. The directors of the Insurance Company were to open a subscription for this company, but since the Baltimore Water Company was to be a separate organization, it will be discussed in the section on public service corporations.²⁰⁹ Fire insurance companies in Baltimore, as well as public authorities, were vitally interested in a good water supply to protect their investment.

Organization of the Maryland Insurance Fire Company, undertaken early in 1792, was soon completed²¹⁰ and insurance rates were published in the Baltimore newspapers in June.²¹¹

²⁰⁷ *Md. Sess.*, 1791 c. 69, Davis, II, 238.

²⁰⁸ All powder manufactured by or belonging to the gunpowder factory established by Robert Gilmore and Stephen Wilson could be stored at half-price in the magazine, *Md. Sess.*, 1792 c. 11.

²⁰⁹ See below.

²¹⁰ *Md. J.* Jan. 6, 24, Mar. 6, Apr. 13, 1792. Many of those elected on Mar. 5 as directors were active as subscribers or directors of other incorporated companies and active in other forms of private enterprise in Baltimore.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, June 26, 1792; a notice of Apr. 12, 1793 stated that the rates given June 1792 applied only in towns where there were well established fire companies.

Shortly before, the president and directors had published the chimney sweeping regulations for Baltimore; the town was divided east and west (of Jones' Falls) and a supervisor appointed for each section; chimneys were to be swept every month, and the rates for sweeping were to be determined by the height of the chimney.²¹²

Giving every assurance of being a permanent addition to Baltimore, the company received permission from the legislature in 1799 to purchase a lot in Baltimore on which to erect a building.²¹³ But Thomas Griffith, one of the earliest authorities on Baltimore City, states in his *Annals* that in 1807 the Baltimore Fire Insurance Company succeeded the Maryland Fire Insurance Company which in 1791 had itself succeeded the Baltimore Insurance Fire Company.²¹⁴

The act of incorporation of the Baltimore Fire Insurance Company (1807), in contrast to that of the Maryland Insurance Fire Company, mentions nothing about a reorganization or a division of the profits of the old company;²¹⁵ and Scharf, who wrote his history of Baltimore when the company was still in existence, says nothing about it succeeding any other corporation.²¹⁶

Its capital of \$500,000 was considerably larger than that of either of the former companies, and it was allowed to make insurance on lives, transportation of goods and "country produce" as well as on fire risks. Its capital structure was of a more common type than that of either of its predecessors. Five dollars on each fifty-dollar share was to be paid at the time of subscription and the remainder was to be paid in installments of not more than \$10 when called for by the president and directors. Dividends were to be declared not oftener than once in six months. The stock of the company was to be considered

²¹² *Ibid.*, May 22, 1792, Jan. 10, 1794. The sweeps were to be distinguished by a leather cap with a brass letter E or W for eastern or western district.

²¹³ *Md. Sess.*, 1799 c. 22.

²¹⁴ Thomas W. Griffith, *Annals of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1824), p. 120.

²¹⁵ *Md. Sess.*, 1807 c. 68.

²¹⁶ J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County from the Earliest Period to the Present Day* (Philadelphia, 1881), II, 483. However that may be, under this name the company continued successfully for almost a century until forced into receivership because of losses sustained as a result of the Baltimore fire of 1904. The Maryland Historical Society has the MSS "Minute Book of the Baltimore Fire Insurance Company 1808-1876," 2 vols.

personalty and was transferable. The company was chartered until 1820.

Of the mutual companies, the other class of fire insurance companies chartered by the Maryland legislature, only the Baltimore Equitable Society is doing business today. In fact, it is the only insurance company, fire or marine, chartered between 1777 and 1807 which is in existence in Maryland at present. The company was organized in February 1794 by a group of Baltimore businessmen when a "Deed of Settlement of the Society for Insuring Homes in and near Baltimore" was adopted by them. By March 4 the Society advertised that they were open for business.²¹⁷

That year the stockholders applied for incorporation, and a charter for the "Baltimore Equitable Society for insuring houses from loss by fire" was passed on December 26 by the General Assembly, the charter closely following the wording of the Deed of Settlement. The preamble, repeating the purpose expressed in the Deed, stated that those forming the Society, having "taken into consideration the dangers to which houses are exposed by fire, and the calamitous consequences resulting therefrom," unanimously agreed to remedy those evils "so far as in our power lies, . . . by each indemnifying the other against such losses, and participating therein."²¹⁸

The Equitable Society was to be a mutual company with no capital stock. The Society was to be a local one, its business being limited to the city and five miles around it. Any Baltimore house owner who deposited a certain premium would receive a policy for seven years and would become a member of the Society. In houses in which a hazardous business was conducted insurance was to be granted only on special terms.²¹⁹

Whenever a fire loss among the members occurred, the president of the Society would set the rate of contribution for members (not more than one-half of the deposit for a single

²¹⁷*Md. J.*, Feb. 28, Mar. 28, 1794.

²¹⁸*Md. Sess.*, 1794 c. 39.

²¹⁹ Among such businesses listed in the charter were the following: "brew-house, bake-house, coopers or joiner's shop, apothecary, chymist, ship chandler, tallow chandler, stablekeeper, innholders, malthouses, or store houses for hemp, flax, tallow, pitch, tar, turpentine, hay, straw and fodder."

fire). At the end of the seven-year policy period, the deposit together with a "proportional dividend of the profits," after deducting any losses, service charges, and office expenses, was to be returned to the policy holder.²²⁰

One interesting article in the charter empowered the directors of the company to invest their funds in stock of the Bank of the United States or to lend out their money on sixty-day promissory notes. Under these provisions the insurance society might have opened a bank, as did some companies in other cities. The latter companies were chartered to do one kind of business but construed their charters liberally, e.g., the Manhattan Company of New York, a water-supply company, which soon found the banking business less troublesome and more profitable. Like the Manhattan Company, the Baltimore Equitable Society possessed a perpetual charter. But the Equitable Society has made fire insurance its sole concern for the one hundred sixty-seven years of its existence.

The only other mutual fire insurance company, "The Georgetown Mutual Insurance Company against Fire on Houses, Goods and Furniture," chartered by the General Assembly before 1807, soon passed out of the jurisdiction of Maryland, but it is considered here because it was created by the state of Maryland. Some of its provisions differ from those of the Baltimore Equitable Society, and these differences illustrate that, at least in the field of mutual fire insurance incorporations, the Maryland legislature did not follow set patterns or models but often shaped the company in accordance with its own by-laws or articles of association, such as the Baltimore Equitable Company's Deed of Settlement.

Property worth \$100,000 was to be subscribed before the Georgetown Company could organize, but there was no stock, since operations were on a mutual basis. Losses were to be

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, and "Address to Members. Centennial. Baltimore Equitable Society, 1794-1894." Maryland Collection, Enoch Pratt Free Library. If ever a fire loss amounted to more than the "whole stock," only a just portion of the whole stock was to be assessed. The company worked under the seven year mutual plan for seventy years; in 1865 they began their present practice of issuing perpetual policies with no dividend in order to provide greater security for the company by creating a fund to repay large losses. This farsighted policy amply rewarded the company in 1904 when the Baltimore Equitable Society was one of the few insurance companies able to survive the Baltimore fire and pay its losses.

covered by premiums paid in at the time of insuring and if those were insufficient, by proportionate assessments on the members. In order that the funds secured from premiums would not "lie idle," a majority of stockholders was to decide how to employ the money so as "to produce interest." They were at liberty to choose any method not contrary to the laws of Maryland—which might have included banking. Unlike the Baltimore Equitable Society provisions were made for the Georgetown Mutual to insure persons who did not desire to join the mutual and share the risk.²²¹

All except one of the fire insurance companies were located in Baltimore, and all did predominantly local business. Most of these companies were financially successful as well as fairly long-lived. Their dividends were large but fluctuated somewhat more than those of banks.²²² But all the fire companies, no matter how short a time they survived, fulfilled a genuine need in Maryland's largest city.

There was no public necessity for incorporating companies to insure ships and cargo as there had been for insuring homes from fire. Throughout the eighteenth century marine risks were split among interested merchants. It was only at the end of the century that some found it more profitable to associate formally for the purpose.²²³ With improved organization of marine insurance underwriting, merchants no longer needed to give their time to underwriting, only their money.

Although Baltimore shipping grew tremendously after the Revolution, the Maryland legislature chartered no marine insurance companies until 1795. In that year the General Assembly incorporated two rival ones, "The Baltimore Insurance Company" and "The Maryland Insurance Company." Both companies had been organized before applying to the legislature for incorporation. Although the charters were issued on the same day, they were not similar. Here again the legislature seems to have had no preconceived idea of the characteristics of an insurance company; where a society or joint-stock company already existed, it preferred to incorporate the company under its own rules and regulations. The Baltimore Insurance Company had a capital of \$300,000, a somewhat re-

²²¹ *Md. Sess.*, 1798 c. 77.

²²² Davis, II, 245.

²²³ *Ibid.*, II, 233.

gressive voting system,²²⁴ and a limit on the amount of insurance on any one ship. This company distributed a half-yearly dividend. The Maryland Insurance Company possessed a capital of \$500,000, a one vote-per-share voting system, but no person could hold more than ten shares, and no stated limit on the amount of its insurance. Its dividend was distributed annually.²²⁵ The company could also lend money on "bottomry" and "respondentia."²²⁶

Perhaps the most interesting difference between the two companies was the capital formation of each. Nominally the capital of the Maryland Insurance Company was larger, but only one-tenth (\$50,000) of that company's was to be paid up. The Baltimore Insurance Company's capital of \$400,000 was to be fully paid up by 1797: \$20,000 of it was to be kept in deposit to answer claims: the remaining \$280,000 was to be invested in stock of the Bank of the United States, of any Maryland bank, or of the public debt.²²⁷ No such fund was provided for in the charter of the Maryland Insurance Company.

About the only features held in common by the two companies were the duration of their charters, nine years each, and the fact that quite a few prominent Baltimoreans had purchased stock in both companies.²²⁸ However, by successive revisions of its charter, the Baltimore Insurance Company increased and liberalized its powers almost to the extent of those possessed by its rival. It was allowed to increase the number of shares that one person might hold from ten to fifty, make short-term loans from its surplus funds, and increase the amounts and types of its marine insurances.²²⁹ No revisions

²²⁴ A system of voting stock, intended to lessen the power of large stockholders, where the number of votes diminishes in proportion to the number of shares held, according to a predetermined scheme. Good examples of regressive stock voting schemes of this period are to be found in the constitution of the first Bank of the United States and the charter of the Bank of Baltimore, *Md. Sess.*, 1795 c. 27.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, 1795 c. 59, 60.

²²⁶ Respondentia is a loan upon goods laden on a ship to be repaid, with interest, only in the event of the safe arrival of some part of the goods. It differs from bottomry which is a loan with the ship as security.

²²⁷ The Maryland Historical Society has a MS "Account Book 1796-7" of the Baltimore Insurance Company, which shows it to have invested its surplus capital in the stock of the U.S. Bank, the Bank of Maryland, and the Bank of Baltimore.

²²⁸ *Md. Sess.*, 1795 c. 59, 60.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, 1796 c. 63, 1798 c. 6, 1804 c. 37, 1807 c. 70.

were made in the Maryland Insurance Company's charter. Both companies petitioned the General Assembly in 1804 for renewal of their charters, which were accordingly extended until 1820.²³⁰

Another group of joint-stock marine insurance companies was given corporate privileges at the 1804 Assembly session. Like the other chartered marine insurance companies, all three had been organized under articles of association before petitioning for incorporation and were chartered until 1820.

Established with a capital of \$60,000, The Union Insurance Company was to make marine, fire, and life insurance and lend money on "bottomry" and "respondentia." The stockholders were to have as many votes as shares, but no one person was to hold more than ten shares. No corporation or body politic was to be a member. A yearly dividend, consisting of no more than two-thirds of the profits, was to be declared. One-third of the profit was to be added annually to the capital stock and invested in banks or "public stocks." Because it was thought that the "security of the insured and the stability" of the company would greatly depend upon the stockholders being persons of "sufficient property to make good any losses," a provision was inserted to have the board of directors approve each transfer of stock.²³¹

The second company to be incorporated that year, "The Marine Insurance Company," had a capital of only \$40,000. Yet among its leading stockholders were such men as Robert Gilmor (president of the company), Robert Oliver, Alexander Brown, William Patterson, Jr., Solomon Etting, and James McHenry, some of the wealthiest merchants and most important men in Baltimore. The provisions of its charter were identical to those of the Union Company except that the number of shares to be held by one person was twenty, twice that of the Union Company.²³²

Largest of the three companies was "The Chesapeake Insurance Company" with a capital of \$600,000. It was to make all kinds of marine insurance. One-tenth of its capital was to be paid up: the other nine-tenths to be paid up only in case of loss. Two-thirds of the paid-up capital was to be invested

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, 1804 c. 37, 106.

²³¹ *Ibid.*, 1804 c. 41.

²³² *Ibid.*, c. 60.

in the shares of the public debt of United States or of bank stock, the rest as most advantageous to the company. There were no provisions concerning approval for stock transfers. Dividends were to be declared every six months.²³³

By 1807 Maryland had chartered two mutual fire companies (including the one in Georgetown), three joint-stock fire companies, and the five joint-stock companies which wrote fire, life, and marine insurance, the latter type predominating. The capital of several of the joint-stock companies came nearest to rivaling the size of that of the banks, the largest companies measured by capital. They fared almost as well financially as the banks.²³⁴

None of the unincorporated insurance corporations or societies which came to the General Assembly for incorporation invited the state government to subscribe for their stock. And never, in any of the charters granted to these companies, did the General Assembly encourage these corporations by reserving any of their stock for the state. No device other than the privileges conferred by the incorporation itself was ever offered by the state.

Close relations existed between insurance companies and banks at this time. Where there were banks, insurance premiums were usually paid with bank notes. Insurance companies often had surplus funds to invest or deposit for safe keeping, and in the first insurance charters only banks and national debt shares were considered suitable investments. The relationship tended to be even closer because the merchant class who required both services usually controlled both.²³⁵ Robert Gilmor, Robert Oliver, and William Patterson—just to take three of the most prominent Baltimore merchants—were stockholders or directors of many of the leading banks and insurance companies chartered in Maryland after the Revolution.

²³³ *Ibid.*, c. 77. How long these three companies existed is a subject of some disagreement. Griffith, *Annals of Baltimore*, (Baltimore, 1824), p. 152 says they were soon discontinued, while Brantz Mayer in *Baltimore: Past and Present*, (Baltimore, 1871), p. 64 says that all three companies paid enormous dividends to stockholders. There seem to be no records of the companies' existence, except one policy of the Chesapeake Company issued in 1805, now in the Maryland Collection, Enoch Pratt Free Library.

²³⁴ Davis, II, 245-46.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*

During the Revolution Maryland made an attempt to launch a bank. The preamble of the June 1780 act establishing the bank declared that "many citizens of this state would pledge their property and credit to the establishment of a bank, for the purpose of procuring . . . supplies for the army, if this State would become security for their indemnification and repayment." It was actually no more than a subscription for specie to buy military supplies and was to end when that purpose had been accomplished. Similar in conception to the so-called "Philadelphia Bank" of 1780, whose subscribers were guaranteed by the Continental Congress, the Maryland subscription bank was, unlike the Pennsylvania one, never undertaken.²³⁶ In 1782 the first attempt to incorporate a bank in Maryland failed when the House of Delegates rejected James McHenry's bill "to establish the credit of a bank" in Baltimore.²³⁷ But because commerce developed rapidly after the Revolution, commercial transactions were made difficult by the limited circulation of foreign coins and depreciated paper and by the refusal of the Maryland legislature to issue more paper money. The value of banks for promoting further commercial development in Maryland gained more adherents as other states, such as Massachusetts, incorporated state banks modeled on the great national banks of England and the Continent.

In 1784 the agitation for a bank in Baltimore was renewed. Proposals for a Bank of Maryland were published and subscriptions were solicited. A bank with a capital of \$300,000, to be subscribed in gold and silver, was proposed and quickly subscribed. However there was much opposition to the plan. The agrarians thought the short-term loans and the drawing of specie to Baltimore would work to their disadvantage. The speculators, who hoped for and preferred a state issue of paper money, and the antimonopolists, who found that the proposed bank's three hundred shares of stock were held by only seventeen people, also opposed the plan.²³⁸ The bill introduced in

²³⁶ *Md. Sess.*, 1780 June c. 28, Davis, II, 35.

²³⁷ Alfred C. Bryan, *History of State Banking in Maryland*, Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, XVII (Baltimore, 1899 Nos. 1-3), p. 133.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18. *B. Md. Gaz.*, Mar. 5, 1784, "Proposals for Establishing a Bank at Baltimore."

the legislature was tabled and no further attempts were made to establish a bank in Maryland for six years.

In 1790 a demand for American foodstuffs, occasioned by the outbreak of war in Europe, spurred the business revival. Since Maryland had not issued any paper money after the Revolution, credit and circulation facilities for handling the upsurge, which soon reached all forms of industry and commerce, proved to be inadequate.²³⁹ This time the advocates of a bank did not organize a bank before petitioning the legislature, probably, as Bryan says, to avoid a notoriety that might prejudice their chances of incorporation.²⁴⁰

As the first incorporation of a bank in Maryland, the Bank of Maryland Act of 1790 deserves some scrutiny. The charter itself was in "brief, general, and plenary terms," unlike the later Maryland banks which took as a model the more "lengthy, detailed," and "restrictive" language of the charter of the Bank of the United States.²⁴¹ The bank of Maryland possessed the same amount of capital that had been proposed for it in 1784, a perpetual charter, a somewhat regressive stock voting system, limited liability, limits on its debt and issues, and no requirement to make any reports to the legislature. The state had reserved no stock in the bank for itself, so perhaps it felt reports to the Assembly unnecessary. Chosen quarterly from among the directors, a committee of three was to inspect the accounts of the bank weekly.²⁴²

By the end of the next year sufficient stockholders had paid up to enable the Bank of Maryland to organize and open for business in Baltimore. Among its famous subscribers were William Patterson (its president); James Carey, Samuel Smith, Robert Oliver, Robert Gilmore, Alexander McKim, Richard

²³⁹ Bryan, pp. 18-19. Credit certificates on tobacco, which were exchangeable for bills on London, could be obtained after inspection by state officials who listed the quality and quantity of tobacco. At this time, however, wheat and flour exports exceeded tobacco, and although these products were inspected for purity, no certificates were issued.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

²⁴¹ Bray Hammond, *Banks and Politics in America from the Revolution to the Civil War* (Princeton, 1957), p. 129. The Bank of Maryland Act was passed December 14, 1790, the same day that Alexander Hamilton submitted his "Report on a National Bank" to Congress.

²⁴² *Md. Sess.*, 1790 c. 5, Bryan, pp. 29-30. No allotment of shares to be subscribed by people in counties outside Baltimore City was made, as was the practice in later Maryland banks.

Caton, John O'Donnell (directors); Samuel Sterrett, John and Andrew Ellicott, Thorogood Smith (later mayor of Baltimore), James Calhoun, (first mayor), John Eager Howard, and Charles Carroll of Carrollton.²⁴³ Almost immediately the Bank began declaring an average dividend of twelve per cent a year which it continued to do until the creation of more banks in the city lowered its profits a little.²⁴⁴

A few years later, there was a serious effort to augment the capital of the bank because many in Baltimore felt that the trade of the city could support a bank with a capital of \$2,000,000 instead of \$300,000. Even with the establishment of a Baltimore City branch of the United States Bank in 1792, with a capital of about \$500,000, the agitation continued. Those who feared that adding to the capital of the Bank of Maryland would create a monopoly favored the establishment of another bank in Baltimore.²⁴⁵

Before that was accomplished, the Maryland legislature created a bank in Georgetown to aid in the preparation of the District of Columbia for occupancy by the national government. The Bank of Columbia, incorporated in 1793, with a capital of \$100,000, was similar in structure to the Bank of Maryland except that it possessed a charter, which could be revoked by Congress when it assumed jurisdiction of the district.²⁴⁶ Allowed by the charter to subscribe to shares for the benefit of the City of Washington, the City Commissioners paid for one thousand fifty-three shares. Surviving until 1827, the Bank of Columbia was used both as a public depository and a public agent for making payments.²⁴⁷

Instead of doubling the capital of the Bank of Maryland, the General Assembly issued a charter in 1795 for a new and entirely separate institution which was to be known as the Bank of Baltimore. Much discussion in newspapers and pamphlets pointed out the advantages of many banks for stimulating industry, extending commerce, making the balance of trade more favorable to the United States, and lowering the interest

²⁴³ *B. Md. Gaz.*, Mar. 4, 1791, *Md. J.*, Mar. 9, 1792.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, Mar. 20, Sept. 7, 1792, Mar. 15, Sept. 10, 1793, Mar. 12, Sept. 5, 1794.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, Mar. 23, Dec. 24, 1792. Bryan, p. 20.

²⁴⁶ *Md. Sess.*, 1793 c. 30, 1795 c. 77, *Md. J.*, Jan. 1, 1794.

²⁴⁷ Davis, II, 97.

rate.²⁴⁸ Proposals were soon submitted to the legislature for a bank with capital of \$3,000,000 to be ultimately raised to \$9,000,000 as the trade of Baltimore should demand. The planners also offered stock in the new company to the state and proposed a union of the two banks if both consented.²⁴⁹

The charter as issued by the Assembly reduced the capital to no more than \$1,200,000. The House of Delegates gave special attention to the form of this charter and later it was used as a model for other bank charters.²⁵⁰ It differed considerably from the charters of the banks of Maryland and Columbia and seems to have drawn some of its provisions from those of the Bank of the United States. Like it, the Bank of Baltimore was to have a charter of limited duration (twenty years), an identical regressive stock voting system to limit the power of the majority stockholders, compulsory rotation of directors, limits prescribed to the debts of the bank and its issues, personal liability of directors for debts exceeding a limited amount, and semi-annual dividends. Additional similarities were the requirements providing for governmental ownership of stock and appointment of a certain number of directors, governmental inspection of the bank's books, and governmental permission for public loans of more than a certain amount.²⁵¹ In order to avoid Baltimore City ownership of the Bank of Baltimore, the capital was allotted to be subscribed among the counties. This further differentiated it from the Bank of Maryland.²⁵²

Opposition from the Potomac Company and from Annapolis, which always feared Baltimore as a trade rival, hindered subscriptions but in a short time the bank was able to organize. It has done business on the same corner for one hundred sixty-six years—since 1930 under the name of the Union Trust

²⁴⁸ [James McHenry], *A Brief Exposition of the Leading Principles of a Bank* (Baltimore, 1795) *passim*; Bryan, p. 21.

²⁴⁹ *Federal Intelligencer and Baltimore Daily Gazette*, Apr. 30, 1795.

²⁵⁰ Bryan, p. 21.

²⁵¹ *Md. Sess.*, 1795 c. 27 and "Constitution of the Bank of the United States" in the "Report on a National Bank," Dec. 14, 1790, *The Works of Alexander Hamilton*, ed. Henry Cabot Lodge (New York, 1904), Federal Edition, III, 431-37. Bryan, p. 16, finds the influence of the Bank of the United States on the Bank of Baltimore "not great," but an examination of the two charters discloses more similarities than Bryan notes. The only important differences pertained to branches for the Bank of the United States and public debt shares forming part of its capital.

²⁵² Bryan, p. 29.

Company.²⁵³ By 1807 the state had paid \$106,200 for three hundred fifty-four of its allotted six hundred shares of Bank of Baltimore stock, had appointed its two directors, and had collected a yearly dividend of about ten per cent on its investment.²⁵⁴

Almost a decade passed before the legislature incorporated any other banks. During this time there was growing fear of the progress of Baltimore's chief trade competitors, Philadelphia and New York. It was often pointed out that Pennsylvania had six banks, four of which were located in Philadelphia, with a total capital of \$10,000,000 and that New York had seven banks with a combined capital of \$6,500,000. By contrast Baltimore (and Maryland) had only two banks whose combined capitals totalled \$1,500,000 (\$2,000,000 if the capital of the United States Branch Bank was included). It was thought that trade, already hurt by the peace in Europe, was being drawn from Baltimore by the superior credit facilities of Philadelphia and New York. Many Baltimoreans were also dissatisfied because the two banks in Baltimore had a policy of making loans on the basis of friendship rather than on that of sound business principles.²⁵⁵

On February 24, 1804, articles of association for the Union Bank of Maryland appeared in the Baltimore *Federal Gazette* and the Annapolis *Maryland Gazette*. When the books were opened for subscriptions in April, the amount necessary to organize was collected in one day. The Union Bank began business in June 1804, thus being the first bank in Maryland to commence operations without first securing a charter. It immediately applied to the legislature for incorporation and thereby stirred the opposition of friends of the old banks who wished to retain their monopoly of banking, their high dividends of ten and twelve per cent, and their appreciating stock.

In the midst of this controversy, another unincorporated bank, The Farmers Bank in Annapolis, began operations; and it, too, petitioned the General Assembly for corporate privi-

²⁵³ Davis, II, 98; Union Trust Company of Maryland, *One Hundred Fifty Years of Banking, 1795-1945* (n. p., 1946).

²⁵⁴ *Md. Sess.*, 1802 c. 58, 1803 Resolutions, 1804 Resolutions, *A. Md. Gaz.*, Nov. 12, 1807.

²⁵⁵ Bryan, pp. 21-22, 36.

leges.²⁵⁶ The *Federal Gazette* of Baltimore reported that the two banks were able to obtain their charters by combining their forces and working for each other in the legislature. Although there was no direct bribery as in other states, the Union Bank's charter allotted shares to the counties and then made the state's legislators commissioners in charge of stock subscriptions.²⁵⁷

The Union Bank's charter provided for a capital of \$3,000,000, the same amount as that of the unincorporated company. Otherwise, the charter was similar to that of the Bank of Baltimore.²⁵⁸ Of the five thousand shares of stock reserved for the state, Maryland had subscribed to \$42,400, or four hundred shares by 1807 and was receiving a yearly dividend of nine per cent.²⁵⁹ The Union Bank is still active in the city, tracing its history through successive mergers as the National Bank of Baltimore, the Fidelity Baltimore Bank, and since 1960 as the Baltimore National Bank.

Chartered at the same session of Assembly, the Farmers Bank was incorporated to satisfy demands for a different type of bank. Up to 1804 all the banks chartered by Maryland had been for Baltimore City and had done only commercial banking. The agricultural interests complained that the short discount time of the Baltimore banks had prevented any agricultural loans. In addition, those portions of Maryland—particularly Annapolis—which resented Baltimore's command of the money market and the trade of the state were anxious to experiment with the new type of bank.²⁶⁰ The articles of association, which appeared in August 1804, proposed a bank at Annapolis, with a capital of \$1,500,000 and a branch at Easton.²⁶¹

Even after the Farmers Bank had secured its incorporation at the November 1804 session of Assembly, discussions on the necessity of a bank in Annapolis or Easton for the agricultural interest continued. Opponents of the bank argued that banks

²⁵⁶ *A. Md. Gaz.*, Mar. 1, 1804 p. 1.

²⁵⁷ Bryan, pp. 23, 24.

²⁵⁸ *Md. Sess.*, 1804, c. 48.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, Resolution No. 26, *A. Md. Gaz.*, Nov. 12, 1807.

²⁶⁰ Bryan, pp. 23, 36.

²⁶¹ *A. Md. Gaz.*, Aug. 2, 1804, p. 1.

were conducted solely to aid commerce, that Annapolis and Easton not being commercial towns had no need for a bank, and that the agricultural interest neither required nor could support a bank. These objections were answered by showing the developing commerce of Annapolis and Easton, by suggesting Annapolis' ability to serve as Washington's port or a winter port for Baltimore, and by quoting Adam Smith and Sir James Steuart to prove the utility of banks and the necessity of credit based upon landed security for the improvement of agriculture.²⁶² The charter issued by the November 1804 session of the General Assembly for the Farmers Bank had proclaimed that both the agricultural and commercial interests of the state would be promoted by the establishment of this bank.

The charter of the Farmers Bank was somewhat similar to that of the Bank of Baltimore except that it provided for a branch bank at Easton to which two-fifths of the \$1,200,000 capital would be allotted. The state of Maryland was entitled to subscribe one-third of the total capital, or \$400,000 worth of stock, and to appoint eleven directors if it subscribed the whole sum.²⁶³

Several new features were introduced, most of them taken over from Scottish banking practice. Perhaps the explanation of these Scottish introductions may be found in the fact that John Muir, who became the bank's first president and was prominent in its organization, was a Scotsman who was probably familiar with that country's peculiar policies of "cash accounts" and paying interest on deposits.²⁶⁴

A "cash account" might be opened by any "farmer, mechanic or manufacturer of this state" for any amount from \$100 to \$1,000. Having done so, the depositor could draw or pay in any sum not less than \$50 at any one time. Settlements were to be made semi-annually. Sums borrowed were to be returned to the bank with six per cent interest while any sums

²⁶² *Ibid.*, Apr. 18, 1805 "Observations on the Act to establish a bank and incorporate it, under the name of the Farmers Bank of Maryland," pp. 1-2.

²⁶³ *Md. Sess.*, 1804 c. 61.

²⁶⁴ John W. Randall, *The Farmers National Bank of Annapolis* (Baltimore, 1905), p. 22. Bryan, p. 14; also see Scottish banking principles introduced into Maryland banking by the writings of Adam Smith and Sir James Steuart which were widely quoted in newspapers and pamphlets favoring banks.

deposited in the account were to receive interest from the bank. The depositor had to give good real or personal security. Since this was another method of lending on land, the system seemed to be appropriate for the Farmers Bank and for Anne Arundel County, one of the most fertile and productive agricultural sections of the state. Four per cent interest on time deposits and three per cent on demand deposits were to be given.²⁶⁵ These principles distinguished the Farmers Bank from any other bank in America.²⁶⁶

By 1807 the state had purchased \$40,000 of stock (800 shares) in the Farmers Bank and had authorized the purchase of 800 more shares. It was receiving a dividend of eight or nine per cent on its investment.²⁶⁷

The Easton bank was designed as a branch of the Farmers Bank but it soon became practically independent. It had its own directors—one from each county on the Eastern Shore—and its capital had been raised on the Shore. Later its connection with Annapolis was severed, and the bank continues today as a separate and independent institution under the name of The Easton Bank of Maryland. Successful in other respects, the bank soon found that the land mortgage security system was as bad, for the Eastern Shore at least, as the opponents of the bank said it would be. As quickly as possible the bank abandoned the system entirely.²⁶⁸

There had been complaints on the Eastern Shore before the Farmers Bank was chartered that Baltimore banks would not lend farmers a dollar without a city endorser.²⁶⁹ The intense antipathy of Shoremen and farmers to Baltimore and city banks is shown by an editorial in the *Easton Star* at the time of the passage of the incorporation of the Farmers Bank. The editor reported that Baltimore financial interests were secretly buying up stock of the bank in different counties, and Baltimore banks had spread the word that no more "favors," i.e.,

²⁶⁵ *Md. Sess.*, 1804 c. 61, Bryan, p. 38.

²⁶⁶ *A. Md. Gaz.*, Apr. 25, 1805. For other points similarity to Scottish banks see Bryan, pp. 15-16.

²⁶⁷ *Md Sess.*, 1805 Resolutions, *A. Md. Gaz.*, Nov. 12, 1807. The bank is still doing business in Annapolis as the Farmers National Bank of Annapolis.

²⁶⁸ Elliott Buse, *One Hundred Fifty Years of Banking on the Eastern Shore* (Easton, Md., 1955) pp. 11, 19.

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

credit, would be granted to those whose names appeared on the stock books of the Farmers Bank. The editor continued that the operation of the bank would convince "the Baltimore speculators and note shavers that their opposition to the bank only serves to rouse the independence of the counties."²⁷⁰

Three years after the Farmers Bank and its Easton branch were incorporated, a branch of the bank was chartered for Frederick. The "Fredericktown Branch Bank" was to operate under the same rules as the original bank and have a capital of \$100,000 drawn from the Annapolis bank. If this capital were insufficient, the "mother bank" was to augment the branch's stock.²⁷¹ By the middle of the nineteenth century this branch had separated from the Annapolis bank and prospered until 1931 under several different names.²⁷²

The Mechanics Bank, the last bank to be incorporated in Baltimore City before 1807, was chartered in 1806. With capital of \$1,000,000 it was organized for a slightly different purpose than the other city banks. Because of the revival of the European wars in 1804, exportation of foodstuffs from Maryland had soared by 1806 to the peak reached in 1799.²⁷³ Baltimoreans again sought an increase in banking capital.

"The Mechanics Bank of Baltimore" was organized, according to its charter, with the hope that "the mechanical and manufacturing interests of this state may, by such an institution, be promoted, and the prosperity thereof advanced."²⁷⁴ Like the other bank charters, it was modeled after the Bank of Baltimore with a few modifications to enable mechanics and manufacturers to take advantage of its services. Stock at \$25 per share was considerably lower than any other Baltimore bank; this was to enable mechanics and manufacturers to become stockholders. Furthermore a portion of the directors of the bank were to be mechanics or manufacturers.²⁷⁵

In previous charters there had been no regulations as to

²⁷⁰ Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 18.

²⁷¹ *Md. Sess.*, 1807 c. 38.

²⁷² J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Western Maryland* . . . (Philadelphia, 1882), I, 539-40. At different times it was known as the Central Bank of Frederick and the Central Trust Company of Maryland.

²⁷³ Bryan, p. 24.

²⁷⁴ *Md. Sess.*, 1806 c. 19.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

the time limit on discounts. In practice city banks took only personal security and loaned or discounted for short periods of time whereas country banks usually took real security for loans or discounts of longer duration. In Baltimore most loans were made upon personal security. Beginning with the charter of the Mechanics Bank, length and conditions of loans and discounts were regulated by provisions in each bank's charter. According to the charter of the Mechanics Bank its loans on personal security were limited to one hundred twenty days but those secured by realty to "practical mechanics or manufacturers only" were limited to two years.²⁷⁶ In 1807 the legislature authorized the state treasurer to subscribe to 1,600 of the 4,000 shares of stock allotted to Maryland. This entitled the Assembly to appoint two state directors.²⁷ After a long series of mergers the bank exists today as the First National Bank of Baltimore.

The last Maryland bank to be chartered before 1807 was also the first of the independent county banks, which were usually located in the county seat or the most important town in the county.²⁷⁸ The "Hagar's-town Bank" began as an unincorporated company under articles of association. In those articles the capital was to be \$500,000 but it was halved by the legislature.²⁷⁹ The historian of the bank reports that both Republicans and Federalists in the county were friendly to the Bank.²⁸⁰ The bank was expected to aid agricultural, commercial, and mechanical interests of Washington County and the surrounding area. There was to be a six month time limit on all notes or bills discounted by the bank (whether on real or personal property was not specified). The state was allowed to subscribe for one-tenth of the bank's ten thousand shares. By 1807 the state legislature had authorized the purchase of eight hundred shares (\$20,000) giving Maryland the right to appoint one director.²⁸¹

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, Bryan, p. 36. But these loans on realty to mechanics and manufacturers were not to exceed one-eighth of the bank's paid-up capital.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 1807 Resolutions.

²⁷⁸ Bryan, pp. 24-25. In a few years almost every county in the state had a bank.

²⁷⁹ Hagerstown Bank, *Annals of One Hundred Years, 1807-1907* (n.p. 1911) pp. 7-10.

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

²⁸¹ *Md. Sess.*, 1807 c. 26; Resolutions.

It should not be thought that banks incorporated by the state enjoyed a monopoly in Maryland. Until 1817 banking partnerships were legal.²⁸² Many of the important private banks of the era, like the firm of Alexander Brown and Sons, continued to function after 1817 as investment bankers.

By 1807 the total corporate banking capital in Maryland, including the Branch Bank of the United States, was \$7,450,000 of which \$5,500,000 was paid in.²⁸³ Of the \$1,181,000 to which the state could subscribe, the legislature had paid in or authorized a subscription of \$268,000 worth of stock by 1807. Five years later Maryland's \$540,000 of bank stock was surpassed only by that subscribed by Pennsylvania and Massachusetts to their banks.²⁸⁴ Besides aiding the banks in securing capital, Maryland's investment in bank stock was highly beneficial to state finances. The state could invest at its convenience, when it possessed surplus funds, and could purchase the stocks at par value when the stock was actually selling at a premium. There were fluctuations in bank dividends but in a forty-year period of state investment, the average dividend was over six per cent.²⁸⁵ Occasionally Maryland borrowed money from one of the banks.²⁸⁶ Despite the loans and the large amounts of money invested in these banks, the state apparently did not trust its own creations completely. In 1804 the Assembly passed a resolution forbidding the treasurers of Maryland to deposit any specie or notes received by the state treasury into any bank unless directed to do so by the legislature.²⁸⁷

Maryland's banks managed to pay high dividends throughout the early nineteenth century although as more banks were chartered, the profits declined from their high peak of twelve per cent a year which the Bank of Maryland, as the only bank in the state, had paid up to 1795. After 1800 dividends of eight, nine, and ten per cent were more usual. Even in de-

²⁸² Bryan, p. 15.

²⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

²⁸⁴ Guy S. Callender, "The Early Transportation and Banking Enterprise of the States in Relation to the Growth of Corporations," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, XVII (Nov., 1902), 113.

²⁸⁵ Hugh S. Hanna, *A Financial History of Maryland, 1789-1848*, Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, XXV (Baltimore, 1907), p. 40.

²⁸⁶ *Md. Sess.*, 1800 Resolution No. 10.

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 1804 Resolutions; Randall, p. 20.

pressed times the banks were able to pay good dividends. As a result of this stability bank stock soon became a standard investment and generally sold above par.²⁸⁸

The only example of a local public service corporation in Maryland before 1807 was a Baltimore City water company. Because the springs and wells which had provided Baltimore with water up to that time were proving inadequate to the growing demands of an increasing population, several attempts were made to create a system to supply that city with sufficient water.

The first attempt was connected with fire protection, under the auspices of the Maryland Insurance Fire Company. The 1792 supplement to its charter empowered that company's directors to open a subscription for the "Baltimore Water Company," which was to be a separate and distinct corporation. Nothing can be found in the Baltimore newspapers to indicate that the subscription was ever floated. This was the first water company in the United States to be chartered after the war.²⁸⁹

Baltimore City residents took up the problem after the city had been incorporated in 1796. The Baltimore City Council was aware that the lack of water was not only harmful to the citizens but that the fire risk was mounting rapidly in the expanding city. In 1799 the council appropriated \$1,000 for the erection and maintenance of pumps in the city. In the last years of the eighteenth century a group of citizens had organized a company to provide water for the city and proposed to raise the capital by a lottery; the lottery was so successful that the whole scheme soon went up in a bubble.²⁹⁰ The Maryland legislature, in 1800 gave the mayor and city council permission to buy or lease land or water and to lay pipes. In 1803 Mayor Calhoun and the council appointed James McHenry and several others to be water commissioners with powers to carry out the legislature's project. Hardly had the laying of pipes begun when landowners claiming property damage se-

²⁸⁸ Bryan, p. 39, Davis, II, 105.

²⁸⁹ *Md. Sess.*, 1792 c. 11, Davis, II, 239-50.

²⁹⁰ *Baltimore Sun*, Aug. 26, 1928, J. H. Hollander, *Financial History of Baltimore*, Johns Hopkins University *Studies in Historical and Political Science*, extra vol. XX (Baltimore, 1899), p. 65.

cured an injunction and stopped all work. After this the mayor and city council confessed defeat and left to private enterprise what the city could not accomplish.²⁹¹

The council urged all "patriotic citizens" to work out some solution. In response to this plea a meeting of Baltimoreans was held on April 20, 1804. By May the first, this meeting had resulted in articles of association for the Baltimore Water Company. Subscriptions were slow in coming in, probably because of fear of landowners blocking this effort, too. If the insurance companies and local business houses had not taken up the offering, the company would have collapsed.²⁹²

The General Assembly granted a twenty year charter of corporate privileges to the company during the November session of 1804. The capital of the company was not to exceed \$500,000. No person or corporation could own more than twenty shares. Jones Falls was to be the source for the proposed water supply. Perhaps with the Manhattan Company in mind, the legislature prohibited all banking privileges to the company.

In 1805 the legislature modified the charter in some respects to conform to the subscribers' wishes. The limitation on the number of shares any one person could hold was removed, and a regressive voting system was substituted for the one-vote-per-share system. The subscribers maintained that the original provisions were contrary to the terms under which the company had been formed and was willing to be governed. They also asked the substitution of a thirty year charter for the original twenty-year incorporation. The Maryland legislature declared that it had no intention of giving control of a public service to private enterprise in perpetuity. The Assembly extended the privileges granted to the company for ten years but only under conditions which would enable the city to buy the company and its works during the thirty year period.²⁹³

The directors of the company hoped to purchase the water rights of Jones Falls as high as Whitehall Mill (Woodberry) but could secure them only up to the John Street Bridge.

²⁹¹ *Md. Sess.*, 1800 c. 77, Baltimore Sun, Aug. 26, 1928, Hollander, p. 65.

²⁹² *Ibid.*

²⁹³ *Md. Sess.*, 1804 c. 86, 1805 c. 44.

They proceeded to lay pipes, most of them wooden. Later, they purchased ground at Center and Calvert Streets, and at Howard's Hill for reservoirs. By the fall of 1806 the company was ready to supply Baltimore with water. It did so until the works were bought by the city for \$1,350,000 in 1854.²⁹⁴

There were few water companies in the United States before 1800 and only a very small number of them were successful. Davis explains that many of the companies were co-operatives with the subscribers being the consumers of the water also. For that reason many of the charters were very similar to those of mutual insurance companies, with no provisions for directors, capital stock, or dividends. The Baltimore Water Company was a stock company with a more sophisticated charter. But it had no powers of eminent domain. It had to secure the consent of all landowners having property where the company wished to lay pipes or divert a stream.²⁹⁵

No manufacturing society or association received a charter in Maryland until 1808, although there were many kinds of simple manufacturing carried on in Baltimore. There was one one joint-stock company in Baltimore which published a "constitution" and began operation, but the scheme soon fell to pieces and the incorporation was not secured.²⁹⁶ Corporate powers at that time had little effect on the success or failure of manufacturing companies. In other states where both incorporated and unincorporated companies existed, the corporation was no more successful, perhaps even less so, than the unincorporated company. There was a shortage of masters and skilled labor. Little machinery had been built in the country, and it was almost impossible to import it. No amount of state aid and encouragement could surmount these difficulties at that time.²⁹⁷

²⁹⁴ Baltimore *Sun*. Aug. 26, 1928. Recently, while excavating for the Baltimore Civic Center near Redwood and Howard Streets, sections of wooden water pipes, probably laid by this company or the earlier water commissioners, were found about 4 feet underground and were presented to the Maryland Historical Society; *Maryland History Notes*, XIX (May, 1961) No. 1, p. 3.

²⁹⁵ Davis, II, 256, *Md. Sess.*, 1804 c. 86.

²⁹⁶ *Md. Sess.*, 1808 c. 49; Shaw Livermore, *Early American Land Companies: Their Influence on Corporate Development* (New York, 1939), p. 257, *B. Md. Gaz.*, June 19, 26, 1789, Davis, II, p. 268.

²⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 280-82, 283. To encourage the manufacture of Maryland tobacco,

From the many incorporated companies discussed it must not be concluded that they formed the majority of Maryland business firms or the only firms. On the contrary, the majority of businesses at this time were carried on by partnerships, private companies, or single proprietors. Only when an organization needed some special privilege, such as eminent domain or limited liability, which was considered to be obtainable only through the state, did it apply for these privileges.

According to the percentages in Table I, Business Incorporations by Special Act, Maryland aided by incorporation those services that were considered public necessities and that needed the special powers reserved to corporate entities to function effectively—transportation, water supply, banking, and insurance companies. No movement for corporate status appeared among two major activities in Maryland, trade and agriculture. It seems likely that mercantile and agrarian interests did not seek charters for their activities because incorporation did not offer them any useful benefits or privileges.

In insurance or banking, where the group seeking incorporation had already organized under articles of association, the legislature usually followed these articles, for the most part, in issuing a charter. The changes that were made by the legislature—whether inspired by public interest or business interests—would require further research into the composition of the incorporating legislature.

The state often provided other encouragements to corporations besides the original charter: loans, permissions for lotteries, tax exemptions, and direct state investment. The motives for state investment in financial corporations were probably different from those in investment in transportation companies. When the state began investing in transportation companies, these companies had not proved themselves to be either profitable or unprofitable. Primarily then the state was interested in promoting Maryland trade and not in a profitable state investment, although there was always hope of some financial return. Maryland continued investing in such projects even when it seemed that little or no profits would ever

the state allowed any tobacco which was declared to have been manufactured in the state to be exported without being inspected and without paying any of the usual fees. *Md. Sess.*, 1789 c. 26.

be forthcoming. But at the time Maryland invested in bank stock, the Bank of Maryland had already proven that banks could be very profitable and that banks needed no state financial aid to survive. It therefore seems reasonable to assume that Maryland, by investing in bank stock, desired to create a permanent source of revenue other than taxation.²⁹⁸

5

CONCLUSION: THE ROLE OF THE STATE

Since Marylanders after 1776 could not turn to Great Britain for aid, and since many did not believe that the general government under the Articles of Confederation had powers in the economic field, they appealed to their own state government to continue to encourage and develop Maryland's economy by aiding its agriculture, shipping, commerce, and manufacturing. They were not asking for the evolution of a new policy: since colonial times the Maryland government had followed mercantilistic economics by aiding and at the same time carefully regulating many portions of the state's economy. During the Revolutionary War the state had given special aid and encouragement to those engaged in producing war materiel and continued its regulation of many economic and social relations.

Those who wrote in the popular press after the Revolution advocating aid to newly developing sectors of the economy, especially to manufacturing, and suggesting new methods of aiding all parts of the economy knew so well the mercantilist theories that underlay their suggestions that they never discussed theory but only alluded to it by their choice of examples of successful policies from mercantilistic economies.

The depression in the mid-eighties caused more thought to be given to policies for aiding the economy. Although aid to manufacturing was advocated by some as a solution for the depression, it had been advocated for different reasons before the depression and would continue to be advocated for many years after the depression had passed. Most policies suggested

²⁹⁸ See Milton S. Heath, *Constructive Liberalism: The Role of the State in Economic Development in Georgia to 1860* (Cambridge, Mass., 1954) pp. 329 ff.

for the alleviation of the depression involved monetary reforms: paper money, stay laws, or easement of debtor-creditor relations.

The organization of the national government under the provisions of the Federal Constitution changed economic policy little in Maryland or the other states because many important areas of legislation in the economic field—such as aid to and regulation of business and transportation services—had been left to the states. Even the bitter political debates during the next two decades between Federalists and Republicans did little to destroy the continuity of Maryland's policies. Those Republicans who most strongly opposed interference in the economy by the national government were often its ardent advocates on the state level. After the Republicans won political control of Maryland in 1800 (and retained it for fifteen years), the only change in policy that can be detected is in the field of corporate privileges. More banks were chartered to lessen the banking monopoly and to give Federalist-controlled banks some Republican-controlled competition. After 1800 corporate charters in Maryland, and elsewhere in the United States as Shaw Livermore in his *American Land Companies* . . . notes, became more restrictive in their provisions. He attributes this to Jeffersonian economic theories, but this would be difficult to determine in Maryland, without an examination of the economic theories of those composing each corporation and each enacting legislature.

Even though much more aid to the economy was given by Maryland after the Revolutionary War than before, many of the methods had been tried by the Maryland colonial government. After the war monopoly privileges, including patent rights and exclusive franchises, were given; loans to individual business men were tried; and permission for lotteries to raise funds for every conceivable purpose from building churches to finishing the Susquehanna Canal were granted by the Maryland General Assembly.

Several new methods were developed, however. Tax exemptions were given to immigrant businessmen, to selected businessmen, and to stockholders in certain canal companies. But the most striking innovation to aid the economy developed

after the Revolution, the business corporation. It was not new to Maryland, but only newly applied to the organization of business. In pre-Revolutionary Maryland the corporation was not unknown, but it had never been used to give special powers and responsibilities to private businessmen with the motive of making a profit. The mixed corporation, an interesting development, was an endeavor to make the corporation less monopolistic by having public (i.e., state) participation, and was at the same time an extremely good investment for the state.

Other methods advocated after the war by popular essayists were not utilized by Maryland. Some advocated direct aid to immigrant businessmen and artisans. Many others, including the artisans and manufacturers themselves, asked for tariffs to protect their struggling enterprises from foreign goods. In Maryland the proponents of a protective tariff were not successful during the 1780's although they campaigned diligently for it. After 1789 they had to turn to the national government for protective tariffs, but the state government still could have enacted bounties and premiums to encourage agriculture and manufacturing. However, it did not choose to do so.

As in other mercantilistic economic systems, regulation of the economy in Maryland had always been concomitant with promotion of it. Maryland, as a colony, had regulated the size and quality of bread, tobacco, flour, and other products. After the Revolution Maryland maintained most of these regulations and added others in the new sectors of the economy. In the 'eighties, when the state began to grant monopoly privileges and corporate charters, it included regulating provisions in the acts giving the privileges. Maryland usually reserved the right to abolish the privilege or regulate the rates charged to the public. In attempting to control its corporate creations the state tried various expedients. It chartered very few companies in perpetuity, most being chartered for a limited number of years with a state option in the case of public utilities to buy the works of the company. Rates of profit were often set, with excess profits going to the state. Liability was not always limited in order to restrain the directors of a company from creating rash policies or improper debts. Some charters

called for rotation of company directors and others forbade interlocking directorates. The favored device of the mixed corporation enabled the state to play an active role in the company through its appointment of directors. When the state owned a portion of the stock of a company, it was usually obliged to report at specified intervals to the state as well as to its stockholders. Maryland also inspected each newly finished section of a turnpike before allowing the company to collect tolls on that portion. These and other regulations were not always obeyed since, for the most part, there were no penalties attached for failure to comply.

In the business sector of the Maryland economy, the state did not initiate the development and growth of business organizations. It aided business, without being the prime mover in the inception of particular projects, as part of its policy of encouraging worthwhile projects which were urged by the community or a part of it and were not thought to be detrimental to the public interest. Maryland was never the manipulator of the economy as some have pictured other postwar American states to have been. Yet it was not a laissez-faire economy either. Regulation and control were administered simultaneously with aid and encouragement.

There was little that was new about Maryland's policy of state aid to and regulation of the business sector of the economy. Promotion and regulation had been practiced in Maryland before the war, albeit on a much narrower scale, and the theories and examples upon which the postwar state acted were already well known. They were by no means unique to Maryland, being the common economic doctrine of the other post-Revolutionary American states.

SIDELIGHTS

THE COLUMBIA MANUFACTURING COMPANY AND THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, 1808-1816*

By RICHARD W. GRIFFIN

Although there developed an interest in household textile manufactures throughout the colonial period, and even though such activities were given stimulation by the growing hostility between Britain and the Colonies, there was no serious transition from household to factory manufactures until after the Revolutionary War. The initial promotion and development of the factory system in the United States was largely due to the efforts of the Philadelphia Society for the Encouragement of Manufactures which was founded in 1787. The activities of this Society served as a model for similar associations in other states.

The manufacturing interest that developed was largely stifled in the 1790's because of the economic stimulation given American commerce and agriculture by the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. However, after 1800 the growing complications of international trade under the restrictive policies of both British and French, combined with a growing interest in national economic independence, brought a revived interest in manufactures.

The industrial spirit was manifested in Virginia and Maryland, whose territory surrounded the new Federal District. The quasi-peace of Amiens served as an indication of the economic changes which final peace would have on the struggling new nation. Thus in cities engaged in the cotton trade—Baltimore, Petersburg, Richmond and others—there developed an interest in textile manufactures. The added stimulus of the Embargo Act proved an irresistible pressure in all parts of the United States in 1808. It is not strange, therefore, that in the raw new capital of the nation this spirit was also displayed.

The administration of Thomas Jefferson, both embarrassed and

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put on the defensive by the reaction to the Embargo Act, looked to its friends for succor as criticism of the policy mounted. In the summer of 1808 Samuel Smith, editor of the *National Intelligencer*, an administration journal, pointed out to his readers that although the embargo was causing a dislocation of commercial and agricultural interests, it was at the same time "producing the most striking effects in the growth of manufactures." He said further that "the injustice and oppression of foreign powers have given birth to this stimulus; and our countrymen, with a spirit that does them honor, are entering with enthusiasm into these great manufactures, that have become doubly profitable from the troubled situation of our foreign intercourse. There is scarcely a town to the Eastward, that has not caught the patriotic flame, and whose citizens have not already opened their purses with a liberality worthy of the object. In many of the great commercial towns a large portion of the capital, usually employed in trade, is already engaged in erecting and carrying on cotton manufactories; and we have good authority for saying that profits, . . . are equal to those of trade."¹

The friends of the administration came to its rescue on this issue, for not only were factories rising in the North, but also to an unprecedented degree in the South and West. In Virginia manufacturing societies were started in Fredericksburg, Richmond, Petersburg and far to the west in Rockbridge County. James Monroe served as chairman of the planning committee of the Richmond Society—and presented for public consideration and approval a plan for a cotton and woolen mill in Richmond to cost \$500,000. At Baltimore, Maryland; Charleston, South Carolina; Salem, North Carolina; Louisville, Georgia, and in a dozen other small places from the Potomac to the Mississippi, spindles and looms were in operation before the year 1808 had passed.

So it was that in Washington—to many, the den of Jeffersonian iniquity—as well as Georgetown and Alexandria, the manufacturing impulse arose. A few weeks after Samuel Smith presented in the *Intelligencer* the arguments in favor of building factories, a meeting of Washington citizens was held at Stelle's Hotel, the social mecca of the city, to discuss plans for the establishment of a cotton factory in the nation's capital. The chairman of this meeting was Robert Brent, and John Law served as its secretary. The resolutions which favored the establishment of a mill were presented by Samuel Smith, who was a friend of the President and a

¹ *National Intelligencer* (Washington, D.C.), May 20, 1808.

spokesman for the party. The resolutions defended the Embargo Act and called upon Washingtonians to be resolute and to contribute to the winning of national economic freedom.²

The final action of this initial meeting was to appoint a select committee to present a plan for the organization of a company—Samuel Smith was named to this group along with Gabriel Duval, of Maryland, who then held the office of first comptroller of the Treasury Department. No doubt Duval secured excellent advice, for one of his colleagues in the Department was Tench Coxe, Purveyor of Public Supply. Coxe was one of the best known and perhaps the foremost promoter of American industrial development; he had been the founder of the Philadelphia Society for the Encouragement of Manufactures in 1787, as well as a prolific writer of studies of American economic opportunities and industrial growth. He had been a supporter and associate of Alexander Ham-

² *Ibid.*, June 22, 1808. Resolutions of the Organizational Meeting. "RESOLVED, that at a time when our rights as an independent nation are trampled upon with unprecedented audacity and injustice by the belligerent nations of Europe; when a system is organized and powerfully organized to deprive us of all the benefits of trade, and reduce us to a state of colonial subjection, and when our government for the purpose of preserving our property from robbery, and multiplying our chances for the continuance of peace, has suspended the export of our products; it becomes the people of the United States to meet the crisis with intrepidity, and to demonstrate their readiness, at the call of their government, patiently to endure inevitable sacrifices, or to actively unfurl their energies.

"RESOLVED, That whether our future lot be peace or war, it is the dictate of the soundest patriotism to render ourselves independent of the workshops of Europe.

"RESOLVED, That this is the propitious moment for the commencement of a system for developing and embodying those internal resources that can alone insure this independence, and on which alone may depend the continuance of peace; for the commencement of a system, permanent as our national existence and co-extensive with the Union.

"RESOLVED, That to insure the accomplishment of this inestimable object, this endearing good out of evil, it is the duty and ought to be the ambition, of every town and section of the Union, by the force of example and union of resources, to encourage by suitable plans, the establishment and extension of domestic manufactures.

"RESOLVED, That the city of Washington, from its local position, from its being the nearest navigable point to the Western country, from the fertility of various districts in its vicinity, and from its abundant fisheries, is eminently fitted for attaining manufacturing importance.

"RESOLVED, Therefore, to afford the citizens of Washington an opportunity of co-operating with their fellow citizens throughout the Union in the promotion of this great object, a committee of seven citizens be appointed, with instructions to report to a subsequent meeting a proper plan for the establishment of domestic manufactures.

"The following committee was thereupon appointed: Mr. Samuel H. Smith, Judge Cranch, Mr. Gabriel Duval, Dr. Cornelius Cunningham, Mr. N. Cutting, Mr. G. Blagden, Mr. Buller Cocke, Mr. Robert Brent."

ilton and his manufacturing plans, and while serving as assistant secretary of the Treasury, had made investigations of the country's industrial growth.

The committee took three weeks in preparing articles of association to be presented to a public meeting. They chose July 11, 1808, one week after the national anniversary, to call the public to Stelle's once more.³

The proposals of the committee were read to the assembled participants twice and then they were adopted unanimously. The auditors agreed to unite to establish the Columbia Manufacturing Company for the purpose of manufacturing cotton, hemp, and flax. It was agreed that the original investment in the plant would be \$50,000, to be divided into 2,000 shares to be paid for by subscribers on the installment plan — five dollars down and the balance in installments of five dollars each upon sixty days' notice. The company was to be automatically established as soon as five hundred shares had been taken—then officers would be elected.⁴

³ *Ibid.*, July 4, 11, 1808.

⁴ *Ibid.*, July 13, 1808.

"ARTICLES OF ASSOCIATION OF THE COLUMBIA MANUFACTURING COMPANY. We the subscribers, do hereby agree to form a company or limited partnership, and do so hereby associate and agree with each other, to conduct business in the manner herein after specified and described, by and under stile of the Columbia Manufacturing Company, and we do hereby mutually covenant and agree that the following are and shall be the fundamental articles of agreement with each other, by which we and all the persons who may hereafter transact business with the said company, shall be bound and concluded.

"ARTICLE 1. The objects of this association are to be the establishment and carrying on the manufacture of cotton, wool, hemp, and flax, and the promotion of such other domestic manufactures as shall be thought advisable.

"ARTICLE 2. The capital stock of the Company shall consist of 50,000 dollars to be raised by subscription on 2000 shares at 25 dollars on each share, of which Five Dollars shall be paid to the commissioners at the time of subscription, and the residue to the President and Directors, in installments of five dollars, as called for by them; Provided, that sixty days previous notice thereof be given in one or more of the public prints in the city of Washington, Georgetown and Alexandria. The books shall be opened on the first Monday in August in the city of Washington, Alexandria, and Georgetown, under the direction of the commissioners, hereinafter named, and at such other places as they shall name. They shall continue open as long as the Commissioners shall direct, who are also authorized to use such other means for filling the subscriptions as they shall consider necessary.

"ARTICLE 3. As soon as 500 shares shall have been subscribed, the commissioners shall convene the stockholders to meet in the city of Washington, for the purpose of framing a plan, not inconsistent with these articles, for conducting the business of the institution, at which meeting each stockholder shall be entitled to as many votes as he holds shares, and at which a majority of the whole number of shares subscribed for shall be represented; and until such a number of stockholders shall assemble, and form said plan, the commissioners may adjourn the meeting from time to time.

"ARTICLE 4. In case 500 shares shall not be subscribed within six months

The Columbia Manufacturing Company was launched and the officers for the year duly elected.⁵ But the work of putting the factory into operation moved slowly. The immediate problem was securing the money once it was pledged, and when the initial enthusiasm wore off, it became increasingly difficult to secure sufficient funds to accomplish the most simple establishment. Early in 1809 George Washington Parke Custis wrote a long series of articles on the also languishing Washington Woolen Mill. He emphasized the need to encourage such budding enterprises and chided the public for its failure to patronize these factories and stated that "very certain it is that the laudable and patriotic views of the promoters of these institutions are at present much paralyzed by the apathy of their fellow-citizens, and the enthusiasm in favor of domestic economy, seems to be subsiding to its former level."⁶ He went on to describe what needed to be done to establish factories.

In the following fall the Columbia Factory had one carding machine in operation and two looms ready for a weaver. The factory, located on Pennsylvania Avenue, was the "fourth house west of President's square." The company advertised its ability to furnish spinners with cotton "soaped, cleaned, carded into rolls 24 inches long" at forty cents per pound. The superintendent, John Gardiner, at the same time advertised for a weaver and three slaves—one to operate the carding machine.⁷

from the opening of the books, the money subscribed shall be returned to the subscribers, it being in the meantime deposited by the commissioners in some one of the banks within the District of Columbia.

"ARTICLE 5. The commissioners shall pay the monies received by them, after deducting their necessary expenses, to the order of such persons as the company may direct.

"ARTICLE 6. Dividends shall be made of the profits of the company, so soon as the progress of the works and the state of the funds will permit.

"ARTICLE 7. Application shall be made to Congress to incorporate the company.

"ARTICLE 8. It is hereby declared expressly and made part of this association, that all persons who deal or contract with the said company, do so deal or contract, on the sole credit of the capital stock, common property, and joint funds of the said company, and not on the private or individual credit of the said President and Directors, or any of them, or of the stockholders or any of them, and do expressly relinquish and so claim all right and pretense of right to look to or receive anything from the individual property or person of the said President, directors or stockholders, or any of them, by reason or on account of any such contract; to which effect there shall be a clause inserted in all contracts, writing or obligations to be made by the President and directors in pursuance of these articles, with any person or persons whomsoever — unless an act of incorporation shall be obtained."

⁵ *Ibid.*, February 22, 1809.

⁶ *Ibid.*, February 24, 1809.

⁷ *Ibid.*, August 23, 1809.

The directors of the company a few weeks later announced in the *Intelligencer* that they could not succeed without prompt payment of the installments due on the stock subscribed. They directed the President, Robert Brent, to make a public report on the money received and paid out in the company's interest. The reports of the president, treasurer, and superintendent of the company which were accordingly published displayed how little the owners of the company had contributed towards its success. The president's report stated that:

The directors are anxious to be enabled to extend the machinery, so as to justify their renting a proper house for the works, and procuring manufacturers of skill and character to conduct the different branches; but with the small means now under their control, it will occur to every subscriber that it would be neither prudent nor proper in the Directors, to incur expense without prospect of that remuneration to the stockholders which a more extensive capital would most probably secure, because the expense of conducting the establishment would be greater in proportion than on a larger.

From a full persuasion that the subscribers to the institution were actuated by a desire to prompting this infant manufactory, and that they will perseverer to the extent subscribed to promote its success, the Directors feel a confident reliance upon them in paying the amount of their subscriptions to the Treasurer of the Institution.

Robert Brent, Pres't, Nov. 20, 1809

The report of the treasurer bordered on the absurd. The company had received from the stockholders \$1,394.00, and the Superintendent reported sales of carded cotton to the extent of \$20.33. The amount spent for company purposes was as follows:

Cash paid for a carding machine, \$500.00; a Billy of 44 spindles and a Jenny of 66 spindles and 8 in tacks, \$222.67; two reels and boards, \$18.25; a small Loom to weave one yard wide, \$74.27; expenses of Mr. Gardiner's journey to Philadelphia, \$40.00; Portorage and commission on the machinery, \$44.20; Freight from Philadelphia on the same, \$87.50; Sundries paid for erecting and repairing the machinery, workmanship by carding, spinning and weaving, and miscellaneous expenses, \$203.14; Purchase and carriage of one bag of cotton, \$51.64; Contingent expenses for meetings of the Directors & Co., \$14.00; Books, stationery & printing, \$23.93. Total \$1,320.00, balance in hand \$94.23. Errors excepted \$1414.33.

Thomas Carpenter, Secretary and Treasurer.⁸

That the subscribers had fallen far short of the minimum investment of \$12,500 was obvious, with barely more than ten per-

⁸ *Ibid.*, November 24, 1809.

cent of this amount collected. The company was faced with paying rent on a building, buying cotton, and employing workers with a balance of \$94.23 in the treasury (That the officers and directors were concerned can be well understood).

The publicly acknowledged difficulties of the Columbia Company seemed not to discourage other manufacturing entrepreneurs. Three days following the disclosures of this company another group of capitalists announced the organization of the Domestic Manufacture Company of Alexandria. They stated their willingness to sell stock in this new concern on a subscription and installment basis—and thus compete for the little capital apparently available in the District for manufacturing purposes.⁹ Nonetheless the Alexandria Company was successfully organized and the next year was judged to have “as good looms and weaving, as are to be found any place in the United States.”¹⁰

In announcing the annual election of officers for the Columbia Company the directors published a resolution stating that “every subscriber who shall have neglected to pay nine installments on the 22nd of February, inst. shall be deemed to have forfeited all right and interest in the company.” The treasurer was ordered to bring this by-law to the attention of the delinquents through the public press.¹¹ What result the threat had is not known but the Directors in face of mounting problems proceeded to begin operations of the mill. They lost their superintendent and were forced to advertise for a spinner and weaver who could take over the management of the concern.¹²

The company was successful in securing a skillful weaver who not only served as manager of the plant but undertook to apprentice children and teach them the use of the flying shuttle. Those who were already acquainted with the hand loom were assured that within three months they would master the more advanced loom. This may have been one way to secure relatively cheap labor. Thomas Carpenter, the secretary-treasurer of the Columbia Factory, reported at the same time that the prospects of the company were never better and asked the stockholders once more to “speedily pay up the installments in arrears.”¹³

This appeal was evidently highly successful for the company in

⁹ *Ibid.*, November 27, 1809, promoters were G. Deneale, Hugh Smith, John Longdon, John McKinney and James Irwin.

¹⁰ Richard Harris, “Progress in Manufactures,” *City Gazette* (Charleston, S. C.), March 19, 1810, quoting the Richmond (Va.) *Enquirer*.

¹¹ *National Intelligencer* (Washington, D. C.), February 12, 1810.

¹² *Ibid.*, February 28, 1810.

¹³ *Ibid.*, March 30, 1810.

the following two years gave up their quarters in the heart of the city and built a factory and mill village at Greenleaf's Point. At this location the company could more easily attract workers and provide for them suitably. The employees were provided with comfortable houses as well as land for vegetable gardens. The company had sufficient housing so that they offered both rooms and houses for rent generally. In the spring of 1812 the company advertised for more weavers and apprentices, and had as well two openings for laborers, preferably those who were "acquainted with gardening." The mill was by this time engaged in the spinning of both wool and cotton, and their surplus yarns were offered for sale to poor families for domestic manufacture.¹⁴

John Gardiner, who had served as mill superintendent and general factotum in 1810, had become in 1812 one of the officers of the company. He announced a call for the selection of five directors and a general stockholders' meeting to consider changes in the company's by-laws.¹⁵ Doubtless the company enjoyed considerable prosperity and patronage after the outbreak of the War of 1812. The resulting blockade served to extend to domestic manufacturers the ultimate in protection—the prohibition of competition from abroad.

The impact of the war had the effect of stimulating further competition for this pioneer mill in the District. The Georgetown Woolen Mill was opened and began the manufacture of woolen blankets under a special patented process. The proprietors advertised their ability to furnish any quantity of blankets on short notice as well as a willingness to buy or exchange their product for wool.¹⁶ This company's proprietors doubtless hoped to secure government contracts to supply this item to the War Department.

Still another mill, a woolen factory, was built at the Falls of the Potomac to take advantage of the water power generated there. Although the region was isolated the concern had the advantage of the river to convey its wares directly to the ports of Georgetown and Alexandria. The editor of the *Georgetown Messenger* lauded the patriotic enterprise displayed by the promoters of this company, and predicted that it would be a boon to the country "in the event of that support being afforded by the public, which the proprietors are entitled to."¹⁷

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, March 12, 1812.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, February 13, 1812.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, August 13, 1812, the owners were Elkanah Cobb, Daniel Bussard and Company.

¹⁷ *Carolina Gazette* (Charleston, S. C.), August 3, 1816, quoting the *Georgetown (D. C.) Messenger*.

The confusion before the capture and during the temporary occupation of Washington in 1814 by British forces under the command of General Ross and Admiral Cockburn, doubtless brought the activities of these various mills to a standstill. It is likely that the Columbia Factory was destroyed, for the British saw action at the arsenal at Greenleaf's Point, and it was reported that two rope manufactories and other private property were destroyed as a result.¹⁸

In these ways the Embargo Act and subsequent related events brought into existence five textile mills in the District or its immediate vicinity: the Washington Woolen Mill, Columbia Factory, Domestic Manufacture Company of Alexandria, Georgetown Blanket factory and the Great Falls Woolen Mills. If these mills survived the war, and there is no evidence that they did so, they would have probably, due to weak financing, have been swept away by the influx of British goods into the country after the Treaty of Ghent. The evidence indicates that only the Great Falls Factory survived the War but it seems not to have existed long afterward.

Although present information is sketchy, it seems safe to say that what happened to the District Industrial establishments forestalled bankruptcy soon after the war. Throughout the country perhaps as many as two hundred small textile mills were forced out of business in 1816 and 1817. British competition, the ineffective tariff of 1816, and primitive organization all combined to deal a crippling blow to the infant industry of the United States. However, individual Americans contributed to the crisis by their failure to pay stock subscription installments which left their companies without sufficient resources to weather the storm.

The many thousands of dollars lost in such enterprises tended to retard the recovery and growth of the textile industry in the post-war era. American entrepreneurs had learned many lessons—some harsh and costly, but many which, once learned, paved the way for a solid, expanding and permanent growth of the industry in the following decades.

¹⁸ *National Intelligencer*, August 29, 1815.

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

The Growth of Southern Civilization. By CLEMENT EATON. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1961. xvii, 357. \$6.

This book provides exactly what the New American Nation Series is supposed to provide: a thorough, balanced summary of recent scholarship in the field by one of its most distinguished scholars. Professor Eaton has begun with the old studies by such men as Fleming, Dodd and Phillips; he moved on to the searching modern monographs by men like Sydnor, Craven and Stamp; he added the brilliant insights of men like Woodward, Cash and Hofstadter; he searched the hundreds of dissertations and scholarly articles by the students of such men as Green, Hesselstine and Owsley; and he topped it all off with a lifetime of first-hand research into the newspapers, travel accounts and especially the manuscripts which are scattered over the nation. The result is the finest summary to date about life in the Old South. Here, now, is the basic, accepted story to which all future scholars must add or from which their new theses must vary.

Professor Eaton begins with the plantation and slave system as the distinguishing features of Southern society. Concerning the plantation, he generally leans toward the new Cash thesis, emphasizing that, except for parts of Virginia and Maryland, the planter was very much a frontiersman, crude, materialistic, and probably far less cultured or serene than the modern middle class American. Concerning slavery, Professor Eaton leans toward the old Phillips thesis, emphasizing that, despite the ultimate cruelty of hopelessness, in practice slavery was neither excessively cruel nor unprofitable.

The greatest emphasis, however, is not on the plantation at all, but on ways in which the South, with all its diversity, was very much like the rest of the United States. Professor Eaton stresses the important role of the yeoman farmer, the mechanic, the business and professional classes, and the rise of towns. He stresses the different types of Southerner in the border states, the tidewater, the pine barrens, the piedmont and the mountains. One of the most significant chapters tells the long-neglected story of the Creole civilization in the bayou country. Marylanders will wish their own, in many ways distinctive, society were treated so carefully. In-

deed, one of the important themes of the book concerns the South's colonial dependence on Northern manufactures, and a careful study of the rise of Baltimore might reveal much about this new colonialism.

There are certain faults inherent in the New American Nation Series, for subjects can no longer be separated as easily, and "definitive" works are no longer quite as exciting, as fifty years ago when the first series was projected. Nowadays, with intellectual and political history relegated to separate volumes, a certain dimension is inevitably missing, and by the very act of reconciling modern scholarship there is a certain blandness to a description of Southern society. Nevertheless, for life in the Old South—*wie es eigentlich gewesen*—here is a superb summary of the way the best historians view it today.

GEORGE H. CALLCOTT

University of Maryland

The Papers of Henry Clay, Volume II, The Rising Statesman, 1815-1820. Edited by JAMES F. HOPKINS and MARY W. M. HARGREAVES. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1961. viii, 939, \$15.

Like its predecessor, this second volume of the Clay Papers is comprehensive in content, meticulously edited, and invaluable for a better understanding both of Clay and this relatively little-known period of our history in which the young Kentucky congressman played an increasingly important role. Clay's letters and speeches are those of a man intimately connected with almost every major national issue during the six years here covered. They begin in the aftermath of the Peace of Ghent ending the War of 1812 with his labors as a negotiator of the commercial treaty of 1815 with Great Britain. They go on to his resumption of leadership in the House of Representatives as the Speaker of that chamber; the formulation of his famous American System of planned national economy; his advocacy against laissez-faire opponents of the main elements of that System: a central Bank of the United States, federal aid to roads and canals, and a protective tariff; his glowingly eloquent championship of the Spanish American republics in their fight for independence. They end with his skillful compromise of the Missouri controversy over slavery, the first of his three great compromises to preserve the Union, and one of the most brilliant personal triumphs in our congressional history. During these six years "The

Rising Statesman" had become firmly established as a very able and popular national leader. Now in his early forties he looked forward with confidence to attaining the presidency in 1824.

BERNARD MAYO

University of Virginia

Van Meteren's Virginia 1607-1612. By JOHN PARKER. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1961. 102. \$5.

We think of the Dutch part of American history chiefly in connection with New York. But it was a Dutch ship that unloaded the first African slaves at Jamestown, and "It was in Virginia that the need for Anglo-Dutch collaboration seemed most necessary to some of the imperialists in both countries. . . ."

Among these Emanuel van Meteren, a Dutch merchant living in London, proved a most perceptive historian. Mr. John Parker, in this scholarly little book (which, incidentally, was one of the top fifteen in the 1961 Midwestern Books Competition), is at pains to present van Meteren's interpretation in terms of the politico-socio-economic factors of 1607-1612. He explains, for instance:

"Van Meteren's omission from his narrative of all that was unpleasant is understandable as a natural disinclination to give comfort to the enemy, to make it appear that Spain could wipe out the little colony with the slightest effort . . . Spain was apparently preparing to make such an effort in 1608 . . ."

But he finds, as will the reader, that van Meteren was a sound and reliable man. In Mr. Parker's present book he is made to appear to best advantage.

ELLEN HART SMITH

Owensboro, Ky.

The Power of the Purse: A History of American Public Finance, 1776-1790. By E. JAMES FERGUSON. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1961. [Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Virginia.] xvi, 343. \$7.50.

This book, a product of more than a decade of research in difficult primary sources, makes a major contribution to the financial

history of the years 1776-1790. Professor Ferguson's analyses of the composition and growth of the public (federal) debt excel anything in print. His long chapter on speculation in that debt adds depth and detail to our knowledge of that subject. His discussion of Robert Morris, while overly harsh because of a failure to give due weight to the essential dependence of public credit upon Morris's ability to maintain his own private credit, makes clear the ideological continuity between the program of Morris and the "Nationalists" of 1780-1784 and the later program of Hamiltonian Federalism. Clarence L. Ver Steeg had earlier insisted upon this continuity, and the recent finding of Curtis P. Nettels is that only Hamilton's emphasis on the importance of domestic manufacturing was missing from Morris' earlier proposals. Perhaps some future rescaling of the total complex of causes eventuating in the Constitution will assign lesser weights to such external events as post-war depression and Shay's Rebellion.

I have some reservations about Ferguson's book. In the first place, I think he is wrong in his argument that had the states discharged the public debt in the 1780's "Congress would have been left with depleted functions and little reason to claim enlarged powers" (p. 241). The need for effective central government depended on considerations more extensive and complex than those of debt. Nor can public interest in that need be approached solely through narrow channels of self-interest. The viability of a fledgling republic, its defense, dignity, and economic development required abandoning the Articles of Confederation in favor of the Constitution. That abandonment injured some private interests, enhanced others, and in some cases, as Forrest McDonald's work shows, had both effects upon those of others. In part, but in part only, there was a coincidence of private and public interest. The latter towered above the interests of any individual or group.

STUART BRUCHEY

Michigan State University

Canal or Railroad? By JULIUS RUBIN. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1961. 106. \$2.50.

New York's Erie Canal, completed 1825, appeared to the business men of Boston, Philadelphia, and Baltimore—New York City's closest competitors—to assure that city's dominance in western trade. This book catalogues the response of each city to a similar

problem and attempts to explain why each found a different solution.

Since turnpikes could not compete with canals in carrying bulk cargo, canals and increasingly railroads were proposed for transmontane traffic. Philadelphia receives the most detailed analysis because the early debate on the alternatives was public. But Marylanders will be interested to read of the audacious answer of Baltimore businessmen to Erie's threat, the building by private enterprise of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, "the world's first long-range, general-purpose railroad." The independence of mind of Baltimore's merchants has been evident at other times: in 1798 during the Naval War with France, they did not petition the government to protect shipping but gave the United States two warships, one the *Constellation*, to be used for that purpose.

The most perplexing question, why each city chose a particular method of transportation, is not adequately answered in this study, as Dr. Rubin himself notes. These decisions cannot be explained on a completely rational level; the local milieu and each area's historical peculiarities affected the judgments of community leaders. More scholarly local history is required to explain decisions which often determined the economic fate of a locality.

Canal or Railroad is lucidly written, well organized, and the index is accurate except for the reference to Mathew Carey as William Carey.

MARY JANE DOWD

National Archives and Records Service

Commanders of the Army of the Potomac. By WARREN W. HASSLER, JR. Baton Rouge; Louisiana State University Press, 1962. xxi, 281. \$6.

Seven men commanded the great Federal army of the East; one reached the pinnacle of greatness, and the other six were expensive failures. In this very readable work, Prof. Hassler of Pennsylvania State University has presented poignant character analyses of each. He has performed his chosen task with such adroitness as to make the subjects alive, understandable and, for the most part, pathetic.

Irvin McDowell suffered from a lack of determination, self-confidence, and ordinary luck. George McClellan falls prey to blinding egotism and tactical timidity. The bragging and swaggering

John Pope could never be convinced that Lee, Longstreet and Jackson were not trying to run away from him. Of old, lovable Ambrose Burnside, a fellow officer commented: "Few men, probably, have risen so high upon so slight a foundation." Joseph Hooker had a strong penchant for gossip, criticism and alcohol. "If Hooker had two to one against Lee," P. G. T. Beauregard once stated, "then I pity the former." George G. Meade was a soldier more by diligence than by nature, and the troops were paying no compliments when they called him "a damned old goggle-eyed snapping turtle." It remained for the silent, simple, direct Sam Grant to succeed wherein the others had failed. Yet in victory was a measure of defeat, for the path from the Wilderness to Appomattox ran red with the blood of young America.

The book abounds with quotations from staff officers and from military commentators of the last century. For the most part, Dr. Hassler's judgment of each commander coincides with popular belief. If he is perhaps too hard on Pope; he is likewise too soft on McClellan. (However, it should be pointed out here that the author has also written the best biography of "Little Mac.") He correctly adjudges Burnside as the worst of the lot, yet Burnside had one virtue the others lacked: from the outset he freely conceded his incompetence for army command.

JAMES I. ROBERTSON, JR.

National Civil War Centennial Commission

A Rebel Came Home. Edited by CHARLES M. MCGEE, JR., and ERNEST M. LANDER, JR. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1961. xiv, 153. \$4.50.

This volume presents a record of two worlds—the Federal, the Confederate. Its writer was Floride Clemson, daughter of the favorite child of John C. Calhoun. Its purpose was unpretentious, merely girlish: to provide an aid to a belle's memory of people, places, events, and impressions during her heyday—her twentieth to twenty-fourth years. Not a diary in the most literal sense, it embodies occasional rather than daily entries. Its outlook is feminine; its flavor smacks somewhat of Victorian romanticism. It includes a young lady's mildly boastful enumeration of ten suitors "*& some accidentals*" who were, on the eve of her twenty-first birthday, among "my more constant visitors." But it also includes elements far more significant.

For Floride Clemson's manuscript volume of about 120 pages was written during 1863-1866, in both parts of a nation divided against itself, and by a young woman of distinguished descent whose father's and mother's families were of opposite allegiances. Her courtiers were paying their attentions to a resident of Maryland, just outside the Federal capital, whom the New York *Herald* had already publicized as "an active *rebel*, & *secessionist*, who ought to be watched" suspiciously, not flattered. Her brother, John Calhoun Clemson, was a Confederate Army officer, a captive imprisoned on Johnson's Island, near Sandusky, Ohio. Her father, Thomas Green Clemson, was a Confederate civil official but had formerly served in the United States diplomatic corps under three presidents and in the Patent Office. Her maternal grandmother, Calhoun's widow, was a zealous Confederate living in up-country South Carolina. The Clemsons, with the exception of Floride's father, were Federals. All this was well known to many people. When family news occasionally penetrated through the battlefronts between Floride's two worlds, it usually did so through intermediaries or by letters which the writers took the precaution to sign with pseudonyms. This volume offers some welcome evidence concerning the ever-intriguing questions of loyalty and security in the "brothers' war" of a century ago.

About half of Floride's memory book was written during 1863 and 1864, while she and her mother lived successively at Bladensburg and Beltsville, Maryland. It shows clearly and often that despite their sentiments, they were not entirely *persona non grata* there, among such Baltimoreans as the family of John H. B. Latrobe, and among the many Clemson relatives and friends in Pennsylvania and New York whom Floride visited. When Floride traveled among her kin, her mother warned her to be discreet in conversation about the issues of the day; after a Northern tour of about 1,650 miles the daughter observed, "No one troubled me about politics, & I spent my time delightfully." We can be grateful that she spent some of it, too, in recording, albeit unconsciously, much testimony about the Maryland "home front."

In printed form, even with generous additions by able editors, Floride's commentary on her troubled times is as small as it is natural. But it is a gem indeed, full of color and reflecting much light; and the editors have mounted this gem in a near-perfect setting. They deserve two special commendations. Diligently, in footnotes and an appendix, they have identified hundreds of persons in Floride's two worlds, even those she mentioned quite casually. For this purpose they have used standard sources and, much

more remarkably, census records. Moreover, they have provided prefatory and appended materials of superior usefulness, based chiefly upon the voluminous family correspondence that is preserved, like Floride's manuscript memory book, at Clemson College. Neither the Calhouns nor the Clemsons were an harmonious clan, easy to understand. Welcome, therefore, is the editors' distillation of perceptive and judicious insights into these families' histories.

W. EDWIN HEMPHILL

The Papers of John C. Calhoun

The Parson of the Islands: The Life and Times of the Rev. Joshua Thomas. By ADAM WALLACE. Cambridge, Maryland: Tidewater Publishers, 1961. 412. \$3.95.

This is a centennial reissue which preserves the look and feel of the original. A biography of much background material, it has sketches of the Reverend Mr. Thomas' contemporaries which will interest many of their descendants, and there is a vivid picture of life on the islands and the eastern shores of Maryland and Virginia, with special emphasis of course on the Methodist camp-meetings and revivals which were social as well as religious gatherings. An unusually picturesque circuit-rider in his canoe "the Methodist," Joshua Thomas tried not to miss a one. In his spare time, since being a fisher of men was not remunerative, he earned his living as a fisherman. His crowded and useful career, set down soon after it ended by a colleague "of the Philadelphia Conference," is a story which well bears repeating.

ELLEN HART SMITH

Owensboro, Ky.

Early American Wooden Ware & Other Kitchen Utensils. By MARY EARLE GOULD. Rutland, Vt.; Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1962. 243. \$8.50.

Collectors of Americana will be pleased to know of the publication of this enlarged and new edition of a previously hard to find reference work. While practically all of the utensils classified and catalogued are of New England origin, nevertheless collectors in other parts of the country will benefit from the generalities Miss

Gould draws. Profusely illustrated with some 200 photographs, and indexed from adze to yeast, those who frequent country auctions, old barns, and antique shops in search of treen will find much valuable information concerning their purchases or discoveries in this book. Of equal value is the insight given into the daily lives of our early housewives.

C. A. P. H.

Titian Ramsay Peale, 1799-1885, and His Journals of the Wilkes Expedition. By JESSIE POESCH. Philadelphia; The American Philosophical Society, 1961. 214 pp., 77 figs., two endpaper maps. \$6.50.

In this biography the youngest son of Charles Willson Peale emerges as a personage in his own right, independent of the prestige of other members of this highly creative Philadelphia family. Titian was not a painter of the caliber of his father nor of his half-brother, Rembrandt, but by training and aptitude he became one of the American artist-naturalists whose accurate pictorial records implement the scientific data and the journals of our research expeditions in the mid-nineteenth century.

Two such expeditions dominate this account: the Yellowstone Expedition, better known as Major Long's expedition (1818-1821), and the Wilkes Expedition (1838-1842). The experience which qualified young Titian for Major Long's safari consisted of a trip to Georgia and Florida with George Ord in the course of which they collected specimens, dined on parakeets, shot alligators, and picked up Indian artifacts, shells and birdskins for the Peale Museum in Philadelphia. The next year Charles Willson Peale, in Washington to paint the President's portrait, did all he could to facilitate his son's appointment to Major Long's staff, with the understanding that the specimens collected would belong to the Philadelphia museum. The party set out from Pittsburgh along the Ohio River, past St. Louis, up the Missouri, west to Long's Peak and Pike's Peak, thence south to New Orleans, having discovered "the great American desert." But the climax of Titian Peale's career was clearly his four-year participation in the Wilkes Expedition whose ship sailed to the Madeiras before landing at Rio de Janeiro. By way of Cape Horn the explorers touched shore at Santiago and Lima before crossing the South Pacific to Australia and New Zealand; then, moving northward they visited Hawaii

(1840), Puget Sound and San Francisco and went home to New York via the Philippine Islands (1842), Singapore and St. Helena! Miss Poesch reconstitutes the artist-naturalist's experience with skill, using his shipmates' accounts as well as Titian's own letters, journal, notes and drawings. Many of the drawings of specimens and places (made occasionally with the aid of a *camera lucida*) are reproduced, and the journal forms Part 2 of the book.

Was the rest of Titian Peale's life anticlimactic? There were certainly difficult periods, in one of which (June-July, 1821) he tried to work with Rembrandt in the latter's new Museum in Baltimore. From time to time he worked as an assistant in the Philadelphia Museum, but at last in 1850 he obtained a post in the United States Patent Office which he held until 1873. His interest in photography led to the patenting in 1861 of the Kinetoscope, a "Peale family toy" for which his young nephew, Coleman Sellers, was chiefly responsible. After his retirement, returning to Philadelphia, he found time to work on "The Butterflies of North America, diurnal Lepidoptera, when they come; where they go; and what they do," consisting of one volume of manuscript and three of drawings and paintings, never published (American Museum of Natural History). But in the end, as Miss Poesch quietly points out, the two appropriate memorials are the two sites that bear his name: a mountain on the Colorado-Utah border, and an island near Wake in the South Pacific. Thus ends a soundly documented, completely absorbing biography which lights up one more of our adventuresome nineteenth century Americans.

ELEANOR PATTERSON SPENCER

Goucher College

Chanteying Aboard American Ships. By FREDERICK PEASE HARLOW.

Barre, Massachusetts: Barre Gazette, 1962. viii, 250. \$8.50.

Shanties are the work songs of the sea. Whether you prefer "chantey," from the French *chanter*, to sing, or "shanty," from the Mobile waterfront — Sir Richard R. Terry champion of this claim—is immaterial.

Shanties were practically the exclusive possession of sailors on English and American ships. While Dana in 1834 gives us the first description in print of shanty-singing on American ships, many of the chantys go back to the Armada. So says Patterson of "Whiskey Johnny." "A Roving" appears in Thomas Heywood's "The Rape of Lucrece" which played in London in 1630. As they came

down, between the 16th century and the period of Dana, by word of mouth only, it is reasonable that there would be many derivations in words and tunes, and many uses for any popular chantey.

Mr. Harlow has extended Joanna C. Colcord's definitive *Roll and Go* (1924) greatly and to the benefit of chantey history. For example, in *Roll and Go* there are 86 different songs against Mr. Harlow's 134. Miss Colcord divides her selections into: Short Drag Shanties, Halyard Shanties, Windlass or Capstan Shanties, and Forecastle Songs while Mr. Harlow breaks his material into: the Chantey, Chanteying on the "Akbar," Chanties and Sea Songs, Whaling Songs, and While I'm at the Wheel. It is obvious, therefore, that Mr. Harlow's new book covers a far wider horizon, and is recommended reading to all who glory in maritime sailing history. We particularly commend the footnotes in which Mr. Harlow differs with Miss Colcord on many points and explains why.

Miss Colcord's father, Lincoln Colcord, was the fifth generation of deep water seamen of New England (who went to sea in 1874). She went to sea with him from 1890 to 1899, and her record takes its stand on the ground of actuality.

Our author, Mr. Harlow, after a coasting trip on the schooner "David G. Floyd" went to sea in December, 1875 on the medium clipper "Akbar" from Boston for Australia. His advantage over Miss Colcord is that he spent his life at it, spent more years afloat than Miss Colcord, and has thus broadened our knowledge of the use of chanteys and given us the latest verses and versions of many of the popular ones, which we in turn have heard sung at rendezvous of sailing enthusiasts over the past 40 years.

The illustrations are excellent and are working pictures of where and why chanteys were used. Congratulations to Mr. Harlow and the Peabody Museum!

RICHARD H. RANDALL

Baltimore

Bishop Walsh of Maryknoll: Prisoner of Red China. By RAY KER-
RISON. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1962. 314. \$4.95.

The difficulties of writing about a saint probably match those of being one, and a biography which is as honest as it is interesting requires of a hagiographer extraordinary qualities of mind and pen. Somehow or other, and despite superficialities and inaccuracies (e.g. photo flashbulb in 1918, p. 169), the author manages to give to the reader James E. Walsh of Cumberland as he was, and is—American to the core, brave, generous, idealistic and prac-

tical, entirely dedicated to serve mankind with a Christlike love. This is an edifying book done in the popular style and based to a great extent, I assume, on the monthly reports which all Maryknoll missionaries are required to write for the Superior General of the order (p. 259). It would be nice to begin this review by writing, "I just could not put the book down." I cannot so write, because the book is not that absorbing.

On April 30, 1891, James Edward Walsh was born in Cumberland, Maryland, and in due time followed his brother, William, to Mount Saint Mary's College, Emmitsburg (Maryland not Pennsylvania, p. 32). Soon after receiving his A.B. degree in 1910, James became the second applicant for admission to the newly formed Catholic Foreign Mission Society of America known world-wide as Maryknoll.

Ordained a priest in 1915, Father Walsh with three fellow Maryknoll priests sailed for the Orient in 1918. Before long, the Holy See appointed him Prefect Apostolic of the provinces of Kwangsi and Kwangtung—the same provinces where the xenophobia of the Chinese made the 16th century missionary efforts of Italian Jesuits so difficult.

In 1927 Father Walsh became Maryknoll's first Bishop. After eighteen years in China he was called back to the United States to fill the office of Superior General of the Society and to direct the work of Maryknoll. This he did with singular success during his ten year term. It was in 1947 that Bishop Walsh returned to China as Executive Secretary of the Catholic Central Bureau in Shanghai and, as we all know, to imprisonment in 1958 by the Chinese Communists and a twenty-year sentence to a small cell in Ward Road prison because he was "a dangerous, veteran United States imperialist spy."

While reading the book, this reviewer found himself thinking of the centuries old effort to bring Christianity to the Chinese. In the 7th century the Nestorians tried, and a Franciscan mission flourished near the end of the Yuan dynasty. Later during Ming and Manchu dynasties, armed with scientific learning to win over the scholar-official class who ruled the country, the Jesuits made modest progress (one had to be a scholar in China to pass the competitive civil service examination required of all who eyed a government office.)

A table of contents, index, and a simple map or maps of China and the missionary areas of the Bishop's activities would seem desirable. It is regrettable that they were omitted from this book.

VINCENT F. BEATTY, S. J.

NOTES AND QUERIES

Members of the Society and subscribers to the *Magazine* will find worthy of their attention the article, "Latrobe's America" in the August 1962 number of *American Heritage*.

Conference on the History of Western America—The next annual meeting will be held at the Albany Hotel, Denver, Colorado, October 11-13, 1962, with the University of Denver as the host institution. Robert G. Athearn, of the University of Colorado, is the program chairman, and Allen D. Breck, of the University of Denver, is in charge of local arrangements. Papers will represent disciplines in Social Sciences, the Humanities, and the Sciences. A preliminary program will be available.

University of Denver
Department of History
University Park
Denver 10, Colorado

Business History—The William Underwood Company and the Richardson and Robbins Company of Dover, Delaware, are collecting documentary evidence of their history, particularly of the period before 1914. Labels, jars, newspaper advertisements, etc. are also included as significant items.

C. J. BARRY, Asst. to the President
Wm. Underwood Co.
1 Red Devil Lane
Watertown 72, Mass.

Baltimore County Historical Society—The Baltimore County Historical Society was organized in 1959 to bring together those people interested in history and especially the history of Baltimore County. The Society's major function is to discover and collect any material which may help to establish or illustrate the history of the area: its exploration, settlement, development and activities

in peace and war; its progress in population, wealth, education, arts, science, agriculture, manufactures, trade and transportation.

Our headquarters are in the County Agriculture Center in Texas, formerly the County Almshouse, where we have the use of several rooms. One is used for the library, where the librarian is receiving books, periodicals, collections of old County newspapers and other historical information about people, churches, schools, roads and places of interest in Baltimore County. Recently the Poet's Corner of the Society, aided by a group of students, friends and relatives of Miss Lizette Woodworth Reese, who was one of America's outstanding poets, planned a most interesting program entitled "An Evening with Lizette Woodworth Reese." The Society was presented with records of Miss Reese's life and work and some of her personal belongings in recognition of the distinction she affords the county, as it was the place of her birth. The farm museum is a new project. It has acquired several old horse-drawn coaches and other farm equipment. It needs early farm implements or articles normally found and used in rural districts.

The museum committee is responsible for collecting, cataloging, cleaning, repairing and storage of historical objects, for arranging museum exhibits and for the correct historical interpretation of these exhibits. The first gifts to the museum were two Sandwich pressed glass cup plates given by a friend of the Society. Since the Indians were early inhabitants of Baltimore County, some of their artifacts, such as a stone scraper, arrowheads and axes, have been found on the farms and presented to the Society.

Among the acquisitions in the museum that date back to the Civil War are a Confederate War Bond issued June 1862; a copy of the *New York Herald*, April 15, 1865 recording the death of Abraham Lincoln; a branding iron owned by Edward Gorsuch, who was killed by his run-away slaves in Christiana, Pa., in 1851; a militia belt with a brass buckle and a gold pin worn by William Schultz during the 1840's and the Civil War; also a medical chest used by him.

A member donated a mahogany shaving box that his ancestor, Dickinson Gorsuch, 2nd, made and used about one hundred and twenty-five years ago. Some interesting clothing includes a baby's long christening dress, ladies' basques, plumes, boas, jackets with leg of mutton sleeves, a dress with a train and petticoat, several old hand-painted fans, handbags and silk and lace shawls.

Among the gifts in our museum is a child's rocker, toys and a doll. Several daguerreotypes and a small leather-bound hymn book that is dated 1869 belonged at one time to Philip Reister

Owings. There are two churns that are eighty to one hundred years old, one a wooden rocking churn. A cherry seeder and apple peeler are interesting.

We are fortunate to have in our museum an unusual sewing machine, patented by Elias Howe, Jr., in 1846. It is said to be the second machine to be manufactured by the inventor. It was bought from Mr. Howe by Henry Evans, Sr., for his wife, Harriet Hurlé Evans. The sewing machine would seem quite awkward to operate now. Instead of a treadle worked by an easy foot motion, it had a blade-like iron piece near the floor which must be shoved back and forth by the foot with much effort and which operates a heavy cast iron wheel mounted horizontally beneath the table. The feeder, unlike the small metal piece less than two inches long on a modern machine, is a large iron ring about 33" in circumference. We also have a later type sewing machine, a two spool Grover & Baker that chain stitches. Both sewing machines have been restored by two members of the Society. A flax spinning wheel and a two harness slot and heddle table loom have been donated.

The Society will provide for the preservation of such material and for its accessibility, as far as may be feasible, to all who wish to examine and study it.

MRS. FRANK V. DREYER, Chairman, Museum
727 Dunkirk Rd., Baltimore 12

Gosnell—In the Registry and Vestry Proceedings of St. Thomas Church, Garrison Forest, Maryland, it is recorded on page 88 that on February 4, 1744/45, the Parish Meeting chose as Church Wardens Peter Gosnell and Cornelius Howard. Information is requested about Peter Gosnell and his descendants.

ROWLAND GOSNELL WEBER
RD 1, Malvern, Pa.

Lyons—I am seeking information as to the ancestry and descendants of Peter Lyons and his wife, Margaret, who lived in Albemarle County, Va. Peter Lyons made his will which was proved in 1764 in Albemarle Co. John Lyons was in the county as early as 1745. This Lyons family is said to be from Maryland. A Lyons family said to be related to this family definitely was from Charles Co., Md. Also, there is a tradition that the family originally came from Connecticut. Were they a part of the Puritan settlement on the western shore of Maryland?

Woolery — I am seeking information as to the ancestry and descendants of Lawrence Woolery and his wife, Peggy Horn, who lived in Madison Co., Kentucky. Their son, Jacob, was born in Pennsylvania in 1786. The family was Pennsylvania Dutch. What relation was Peggy Horn to Aaron Horn born in Maryland who served in the American Revolution for which service he applied for a pension in Madison Co., Ky.? What relation was Lawrence Woolery to Laurence Ohler who deeded land in Frederick Co., Md., in 1779 and Laurence Owler whose will was probated in 1768? Others in the same county were Jacob Ulry (also Ullery), will 1777; John Ulrick, deed 1772, and, as Willarick, deed in 1759; Stephen Walrich, also Ularick, deed in 1754, and as Ulrich in 1766; Peter Oler deeded land in 1770 and as Owler in 1762. Lawrence Wollery was listed in Mason Co., Ky., as was his brother, John, as Oler. They moved to Madison Co., then John moved to Harrison Co., Ky. Lawrence Woolery left Madison Co. but it is not known where he went.

E. E. MACY
726 Seventh
Astoria, Oregon

Tilghman—A member of the Society is anxious to hear from anyone who possesses a portrait of Judge James Tilghman, of "Mel-field," Queen Anne's County, Md., and/or his son, Frisby Tilghman, of "Rockland," in Washington Co., and to obtain permission to take photographs of same.

Gordon — Wanted: information concerning James Gordon who migrated from Scotland to Maryland. Came to Ohio between 1796-1807. Children born in Maryland were: Nancy, Elizabeth 1773; Mary, 1774; Margaret, 1782; Martha, Jane 1796. Had several wives.

MRS HOMER NICHOL
Mt. Pleasant, Ohio

CONTRIBUTORS

NEIL STRAWSER is a Columbia Broadcasting System news correspondent assigned to the Maryland-Atlantic area. He was graduated with the Master of Arts degree in history in 1958 from George Washington University. Mr. Strawser's article following Mr. Francis Beirne's "Sam Chase, 'Disturber,'" in the June issue places his subject in a broader context. It was the *Magazine's* opinion that both authors added much to the study of Maryland's Revolutionary period.

DOROTHY BROWN is assistant professor of history at Notre Dame College, Baltimore. Prof. Brown is at present conducting classes for the Peace Corps at the University of Maryland.

HOWARD E. WOODEN is lecturer in the History of Art and the Sociology of Art at Evansville College, Evansville, Indiana. He is author of numerous articles in the field of art history, and his recently published book is entitled *Architectural Heritage of Evansville: an Interpretive Review of the 19th Century* (1962). He is currently conducting research in aspects of socio-cultural behaviour in the hospital setting under grants from the National Institute of Health.

RICHARD W. GRIFFIN is editor of the *Textile History Review*. He is chairman of the history department at Wesleyan College, Georgia. He is author of several articles in professional journals and is currently writing a book on the history of cotton manufacture in the South.

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